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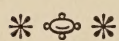
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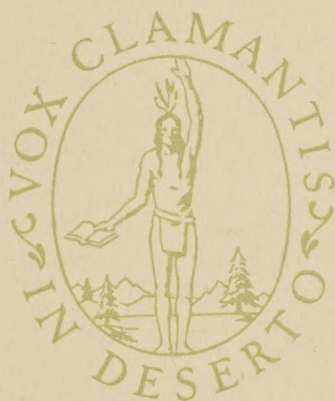
History
of
Dartmouth College



VOLUME I

HISTORY
of
DARTMOUTH
COLLEGE

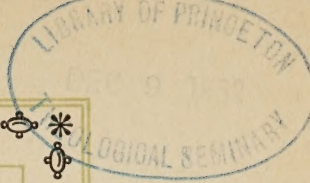
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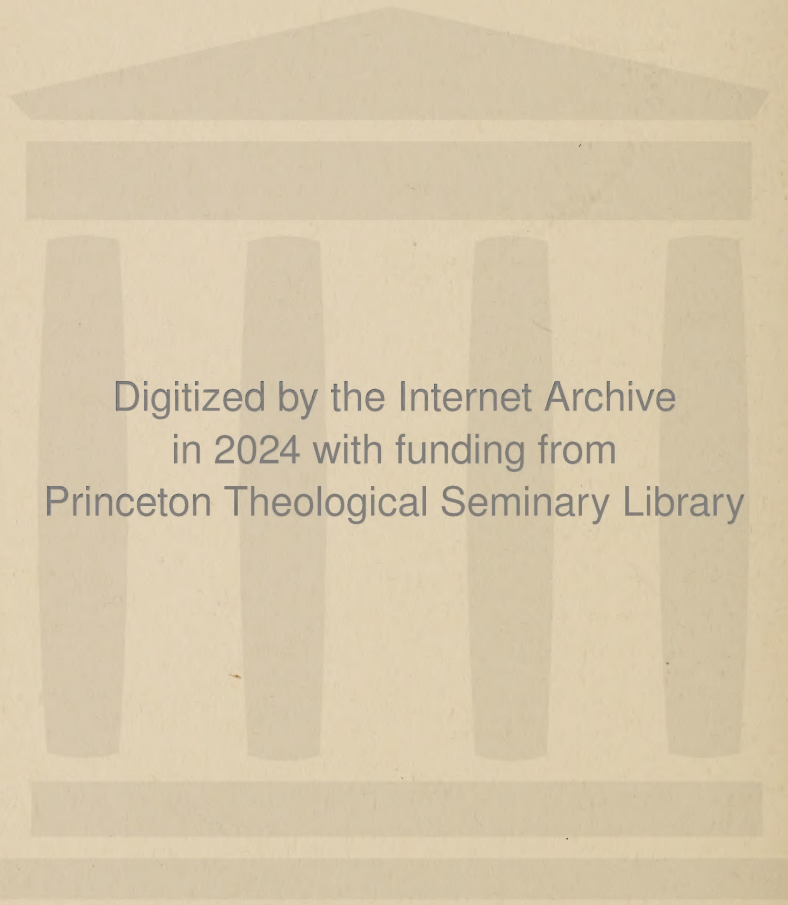


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To My Wife



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Preface

THIS history of Dartmouth College was undertaken at the request of President Hopkins, and the work upon it has been carried out with the support of the trustees.

The standard history of the college, begun by Mr. Frederick Chase and continued by Professor John K. Lord, is a monument of careful investigation and scholarly interpretation. It will remain the authority for those who are concerned with the intimate details of the rise and progress of the institution. It has been felt, nevertheless, that for the general reader, who is interested in the history of the college as a continuing story, that work, from the very nature of its plan, is somewhat overloaded with detail. A running account of the institution, written as a unit, sufficiently detailed to make for completeness, but not overburdened with particulars, may well have a place of its own. It was with the purpose of meeting that demand that this book was undertaken.

The story told in these volumes is based entirely upon contemporary documents in the possession of the college. In recent years the institution has been remarkably fortunate in acquiring a great store of manuscripts relating to its early years. The complaint of Professor Sanborn in 1870, that he could find in Hanover almost nothing relating to the early history of the institution, can no longer justly be made. The great collection of the manuscripts of Eleazar Wheelock, carefully preserved by his descendants and now returned to the place of their origin, sheds a clearer light upon the early years of the institution than can be obtained concerning any subsequent period of its history. That material is supplemented by the papers of Nathaniel Whitaker, of David McClure, of Judge Richard Fletcher, and of the Webster collection of Mr. Edwin W. Sanborn; by the store of manuscripts collected by Mr. Frederick Chase, and by many other records. From these documents, not only

can the story of the material affairs of the institution be traced in detail, but its inner life may be reproduced with some confidence in the accuracy of the picture. In fact, the chief difficulty is not in the adequacy of the source material, but in the selection from it of those topics of greatest significance.

Curiously enough, it is in the later periods of the life of the college that the greatest difficulty was found in securing information from contemporary sources. However, persistent search in the dusty accumulations of the treasurer's office brought to light a store of material concerning the administration of President Lord, which seems not to have been much used by previous historians. Through the kindness of Dr. Morris K. Smith the correspondence of his grandfather, President Asa D. Smith, was made available; a collection of over ten thousand letters which give an intimate picture of the college during that period. Mrs. Charlotte Tucker has also permitted the inspection of numerous papers of her husband, President William J. Tucker. Additional light upon more recent periods has been afforded by the voluminous correspondence of Mr. Frank S. Streeter, for so long a trustee. Although documentary material relating to the administration of President Bartlett is rather less abundant than might be desired, enough has been discovered to give the story of that period an adequate basis of contemporary evidence.

The helpfulness of many has contributed to whatever may be of value in this work. The admirable facilities of the Baker Library have been placed freely at the disposal of the writer. Particular thanks are due to Miss Mildred Saunders, in charge of the college archives, for her painstaking assistance. Similar helpfulness was displayed by the treasurer and his assistants, especially by Mr. Earl C. Gordon, who devoted much time to the search for information particularly desired by the writer. Portions of the manuscript have been read by Professor James D. MacCallum and by Professor Edwin J. Bartlett, each of whom has made suggestions of value. To these persons, to those mentioned above who have made documentary material available, and to many others who have contributed in various ways, the writer wishes to make his most sincere acknowledgments.

L. B. R.

April, 1931

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History
of
Dartmouth College



CHAPTER I

Eleazar Wheelock and His Indian School

THAT an individual clergyman, without wealth or connexions with the rich or great, settled in a small and obscure parish, in a country where at that time few or none were rich, that he should by his own exertions raise an institution which has commanded the notice and charities of all orders of men in Europe and America from the menial servant to the powerful monarch on the throne, and finally found a flourishing University, laying a basis for endowments by which it has become extensively useful, and promises to be an eminent blessing to future generations, is an impressive example in the history of the world of what one man of persevering zeal may accomplish.

Thus wrote David McClure in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The language may strike us as stilted, but to the truth conveyed by it no exceptions can be taken. Of the pre-revolutionary colleges in America, Dartmouth is the solitary example of an institution owing its existence to the vision, energy, and untiring effort of a single individual. The story of the college in its early years is, then, the story of Eleazar Wheelock.

Among the graduates of Cambridge in 1626 was Ralph Wheelock, a native of Shropshire, who became, according to the statements made of him, "an eminent nonconformist divine." His eminence must have been acquired with some rapidity, for in 1637 he left the scene of his labors and came to Massachusetts, receiving a grant of land in the town of Dedham. The influx of clerical gen-

tlemen to New England (sixty graduates of Oxford and Cambridge came to Massachusetts between 1630 and 1634) was such, according to John Cotton, that "nothing is cheap in New England but milk and ministers." Either because of this oversupply or because he preferred a different life, Wheelock never assumed a clerical charge. He was, however, a leading citizen of the community, a member of the first board of selectmen, active in the organization of the church, and master of what is said to have been the first free school in New England. Later, when a portion of Dedham was set apart as Medfield, he was selectman of the new town, member of the General Court, and teacher of the local school. He died in 1683, leaving nine children, one of whom was Capt. Eleazar Wheelock of Mendon, a commander of a corps of cavalry in the Indian wars, but in times of peace a recognized friend of the savages. The latter's son, Ralph, was a prosperous farmer in Windham, Connecticut, deacon in the church, esteemed for his hospitality and piety, who married Ruth Huntington, and to whom was born on April 22, 1711, (O.S.) as his only male child a son whom he named Eleazar.

We know nothing of Wheelock's early years. Reared on a Connecticut farm, he undoubtedly had abundant opportunity to become fully versed with the "arts of husbandry", as he always termed them, so necessary to him through life as his principal means of support, and so important, in his opinion, to those reared under his charge in school and in college. At the age of sixteen he is said to have become converted and to have determined upon the ministry as the work of his life. The way was clear before him. A bequest from his grandfather provided for the expenses of his college education, and in 1729 he entered Yale; being ranked, according to the system then prevailing, based upon the social prominence of the family of the student, just below the middle of the class. Records of his college career are scant. The earliest letter written by him which has come down to us is dated December 1, 1733, just after his graduation. It is a ponderous and pious document, entirely devoted to the thesis that happiness is not to be sought in the affairs of this world, but only with reference to the hereafter; something of a revelation as to what was considered the proper subject matter and style of a communication between college student and father in

those early days. That he took very seriously his mission in life, even then, is the testimony given many years later by President Stiles of Yale, who attributed his first religious impression as a boy to the hints and exhortations received from the Yale student when that student was a visitor at Stiles' paternal home. Wheelock was a leading student of the classics, as is shown by the fact that to him and to his classmate, Benjamin Pomeroy, came the honor of being the first holders of the Berkeley Scholarships, a foundation established by the philosopher, Dean Berkeley; the oldest of the fixed foundations at Yale, and afterwards held by a long line of persons subsequently distinguished in various walks of life.

After graduation in 1733 Wheelock remained in New Haven, pursuing the study of theology. He was licensed to preach in 1734, and the next year, after declining a call to a church on Long Island, settled as minister of the second parish of Lebanon, Connecticut. In the same year he married Mrs. Sarah Maltby, widow of Capt. William Maltby of New Haven and daughter of the Reverend John Davenport of Stamford.¹

We find him, therefore, at the age of twenty-four settled in the work which he may well have assumed would be that of his life, and which, in reality, lasted for thirty-five years. Pastorates in colonial New England were likely to be of long duration, not entirely because of the spirit of harmony which existed between the minister and his flock, but because of the legal relationships which pre-

¹ The family of Wheelock plays so considerable a part in the history of the college as to be worthy of recapitulation. By her first husband Mrs. Wheelock had three children, two girls and a boy, John Maltby, whom Wheelock regarded as affectionately as he did his own offspring. To the Wheelock pair were born six children; three of whom grew to adult years: viz. (1) Theodora, born in 1736, who married Col. Alexander Phelps of Hebron, and, after his death, Capt. John Young of Lisbon, N. H. She died in 1810. (2) Ruth, born in 1740, married Rev. Wm. Patten of Hartford, Conn. and died in 1831. (3) Ralph or Radulphus, born in 1742, a graduate of Yale in 1765, died, unmarried, in Hanover in 1817. The first Mrs. Wheelock died in 1746, and the widower then married Mary Brinsmead of Milford, Conn. To them were born (1) Mary, born in 1748, who married Professor Bezaleel Woodward, and who died in Hanover in 1807. (2) Abigail, born in 1751, who married Professor Sylvanus Ripley, and who died in Fryeburg, Maine in 1818. (3) John, born in 1754, second president of Dartmouth, died in 1817. (4) Eleazar, born in 1756, a graduate of Dartmouth in 1776, who died in 1811 at Boat Run, Ohio. (5) James, born in 1759, also a Dartmouth graduate in the class of 1776, died in 1835 at Burlington, Vt.

ailed. Settlement was an elaborate process, involving extensive negotiation both on the material and ecclesiastical sides, the minister, once settled, had definite claims on his parish enforceable by law, and the breaking of the pastoral bond was a troublesome affair. As a result, in many cases long pastorates were due to an inertia which stood in the way of putting into action the cumbersome machinery of separation, and were marked by constant wrangling, while even in the most satisfactory instances points of friction between minister and congregation were likely to develop. The relation between Wheelock and his flock, while, in general, friendly, was not without its periods of ill-feeling.

At this time the town of Lebanon was in population the fifth in Connecticut, numbering in 1756, 3274 souls. It was distinguished for its leadership in colonial affairs. The second parish embraced an outlying section of the township, five miles from the center, and was called Lebanon Crank. It was set off from the parent town in 1804 and is now known as Columbia. Here lived perhaps six hundred people, not in the most prosperous circumstances and not of the most generous dispositions, who were to be Wheelock's charge for the next thirty-five years.

The terms of settlement were such as were common in pastoral relations of the day. The minister was assigned twenty-five acres of land of his own and was given the salary of £140 (old tenor) a year, to be paid in public credit or in provisions. With the fluctuation prevailing in colonial currency, statements in terms of money meant very little, a condition which was met by the establishment in the agreement of definite rates for commodities such as wheat, rye, corn, pork and beef. With these rates as a basis, the salary was to rise and fall with the current prices of the articles; an anticipation of Professor Irving Fisher's scheme of the flexible dollar. Wheelock was also given yearly thirty cords of wood. The arrangement was a source of constant friction. Wheelock regarded himself as imposed upon and tricked by certain practices to his disadvantage which could be justified, in his mind, only by a very lax interpretation of the agreement. Even that which was paid was received at times inconvenient to him and in commodities which were not acceptable, while in some cases it was not paid at all. In 1758 the controversy

was submitted to the arbitration of three impartial persons. Greater stability of currency having by this time been established, the amount of the salary (aside from the wood) was fixed in terms of "lawful money" as £60.10 a year.¹ The decision was received by Wheelock with deep indignation. In truth, it was a very low compensation, even in comparison with other clerical stipends of the time, and of course entirely inadequate for his support.

With his establishment in Lebanon began the series of sermons, two on each Sabbath, which were to come from Wheelock in a steady stream almost to the day of his death. Three of them have come down to us in printed form, while among his papers the manuscripts of many others survive. The latter, written in a crabbed, microscopic hand, so abbreviated as to give almost the aspect of shorthand, are decipherable only with the utmost difficulty. In his latter days his preaching was largely extemporaneous, the heads of the discourse, only, being noted on scraps of paper. Of the result, when translated and interpreted, it is difficult to form a fair judgment. The burning questions which seemed to Wheelock and his contemporaries to be of pressing importance are of little interest today; the theology of the time attracts only the antiquary; the rules of personal conduct are so forbidding as to lead one to wonder that even a Puritan congregation could have listened to them with patience; the language is so involved and the reasoning of so curious a character as to repel rather than to attract. But, however we may regard them, there is no question that in his own time these productions were viewed with deep seriousness. Moreover, as a clerical orator Wheelock was ranked among the leaders of his day. Benjamin Trumbull, the historian of Connecticut, says of him:

Wheelock was a gentleman of a comely figure, of a mild and winning aspect; his voice smooth and harmonious, the best, by far, I have ever heard. He had the entire command of it. His gesture was natural but not redundant. His preaching and addresses were close

¹ The value of the pound "lawful money" in use in New England was \$3.33. This will be the value understood for the pound in this book unless the specification "sterling" is appended.

and pungent and yet winning beyond almost all comparison, so that his audience would be melted even into tears before they were aware of it.

This testimony, coming from one who was familiar with the best pulpit orators of his time, including Whitefield, who moved Garrick to tears, is significant enough, although we should remember that Trumbull was Wheelock's friend. David McClure describes his master as follows;

Dr. Wheelock's person was of a middle stature and size, well proportioned, erect and dignified. His features were prominent, his eyes a light blue and animated. His complexion was fair and the general expression of his countenance pleasing and handsome. His voice was remarkably full, harmonious and commanding.

The effectiveness of Wheelock as a preacher thus seems hardly to be a subject of doubt.

But preaching was not the only duty of the clergyman of colonial times. The morals of his flock he regarded as his direct responsibility, and that responsibility he was watchful to fulfill. Civil courts were but one agency for the punishment of crime; the ecclesiastical jurisdiction had a potency of its own. So, among the papers of Wheelock, we find numerous citations of members of his congregation to appear before him and the elders of his church to answer accusations which could be regarded (in some cases by a stretch of the imagination) as violations of the moral law. Such crimes as fighting, laughing in meeting, breach of the peace, refusal to appear as a witness, drunkenness, and lying are among those which occupied the attention of this clerical court. In the long run such trials usually result in dissension in the congregation, and Wheelock's was no exception. In 1755 he, himself, was cited by two members of his flock to appear before the Association of Windham County to answer six charges, one of which, that he had falsely accused his congregation of being guilty of the sins of Corah, Dathan and Abiram, has a mysteriously horrifying sound. What happened in this case we do not know. But in general his people seemed content to follow his judgments so long as they did not

bring about an increase in the rates for ministerial support, and the relationship was as peaceful as was common in parishes of the day.

The historian of Columbia describes the period as the most prosperous in the history of the church. The first edifice, erected in 1724, was replaced by a larger house, started in 1747 and completed in 1754 at an expense of £4458, raised in a parish of but 170 taxpayers. This large meeting house was filled to overflowing each Sunday, "the whole mass of the population at that period being in the habit of attending church regularly". When the Indian school was established, specified seats were assigned to the aborigines. Tradition has it that the edifice was painted sky-blue without, and with its red occupants within, it must have presented each Sunday an appearance sufficiently picturesque. Wheelock's church was replaced by the present structure in 1832.

It was impossible, of course, for Wheelock to maintain his growing family upon his professional income. Fortunately he possessed, through land assigned upon his settlement, through inheritance and through the property of his first and second wives, a landed estate fairly comfortable for the times. In 1754 he rated himself on about 175 acres of land in Lebanon, for £39. Other land in the vicinity came into his possession at a later date, and he also inherited his father's farm in Windham. The outlying lands he leased, generally on shares, and on terms which indicate that he was in possession of a sufficiency of sheep, oxen, cows, hogs and farming tools properly to equip them. The land near Lebanon he ran himself, evidently as a practical and successful farmer. For labor he relied, in part at least, upon slaves. Bills of sale in existence show that he owned at various times seven colored men and women, but this evidence probably does not reveal the whole extent of his holdings. When he removed to Hanover he brought four slaves with him, leaving two in Connecticut. The landed properties which he held seem to have been remunerative as long as he remained in personal charge. Their value was estimated by his friend Whitaker to be between £2000 and £3000. The greater part, however, being placed on the market during the Revolution when land values were depressed, did not bring much over £1000. His house in Lebanon he retained until his death. It seems to have been of considerable size.

A large house was necessary to accommodate his family and numerous guests, and, moreover, the members of his school, some thirty in number, met daily in its hall for morning prayers. Whether the house in Columbia now pointed out as his really has that distinction or is of later date is a matter of uncertainty.

The daily life of Wheelock in the routine of his parish was like that of the other ministers of his time. Most of them regarded themselves as sufficiently busied with the work of the day, but the Lebanon clergyman was a man never content with mere routine. The business of his life was the saving of souls, and to that business he set himself with an energy that knew no rest. He came at a fortunate time. After the original surge of energy which had brought the colonists to New England and had made for them secure habitations in the face of the forces of nature and of the opposition of the savages, life had begun to assume an aspect of comfort and stability. Religion there was in abundance, but so long as one conformed to established creed and followed established practice, it was not particularly troublesome. Ministers there were in abundance, but their attention was largely devoted to routine, to theological controversy, to protecting the community from the inroads of heresy. The ordinary conforming citizen, a member of the church, finding in religious exercises his chief relief from the humdrum of life, was placidly content. He had once again shown the adaptibility of the human mind in fitting itself in comfort to the contours of a most uncomfortable theology. But now all was changed. A new movement was abroad in the land, one which aimed straight for the soul of the individual, one in which church membership, conformity, acceptance of creed, were matters of necessary but minor import; a movement which put squarely to the man or woman the question, are *you* of the limited company of the elect, or is your soul doomed to hell?

It began at Northampton under the leadership of Jonathan Edwards. Without aid of the arts of oratory, calmly and evenly the minister pictured to his hearers the horrors of hell and developed with cold logic the conclusion that most of them would find in that place their final destination. So vivid was the description that his terrified listeners seemed actually to feel the heat of the flames and

to stifle in the sulphurous fumes of the lower regions; so perfect was his logic that they seemed to be suspended by the thinnest of cords over the blazing abyss. The contagion spread from Northampton far afield. Others of the clergy embraced with enthusiasm the opportunity for saving souls, and much of Massachusetts and Connecticut was stirred by the hysteria of the movement. In his parish in Lebanon, Wheelock, in the first year of his pastorate, rejoiced at the success of his own efforts. The period was the precursor of many others which he regarded as the great moments of his life. He showed himself, thus early, as one destined for high success in the winning of souls.

But the real impetus of the movement came in 1740 with the advent of George Whitefield to New England. Under the spell of his eloquence, profoundly moved by his earnestness, the whole country was stirred to its depths. Personal religion, the salvation of the individual, came to be the one interest of thousands previously apathetic to such appeals. Thus arose in America the first of the great revivals, still remembered as the time of the "Great Awakening". Wheelock entered upon it with high enthusiasm. On October 22, 1740, he and his classmate Benjamin Pomeroy (now his brother-in-law, and his most intimate friend through life) met Whitefield at Wethersfield, and began an intimacy which was of decisive importance in its influence upon the institution which the Connecticut clergyman was to found. Among the disciples of Whitefield, Wheelock soon became an outstanding leader. His parish in Lebanon claimed his attention, but his activities could by no means be limited to that confined sphere. Invitations poured in upon him from all sides, most of them couched with lamentable lack of originality in the stereotyped form, "Come over into Macedonia and help us." Even Jonathan Edwards, himself, appealed to him to assist the former's father at Scantic "where they are wholly dead in this extraordinary day of God's gracious visitation", and asked him to come to Northampton where "there has been a revival of religion of late but your labors have been much more remarkably blessed than mine". A citizen of Lyme gave him a horse "in Consideration of Y^e Extensive Labours of the Reverend Mr. Wheelock in Y^e Work of Y^e Ministry and his Present Circumstances in need of a Horse to

Perform Y^e Same''. A petition, signed by forty-nine persons in various Connecticut towns, asked for the printing of one of his sermons with pledges for the purchase of 343 copies of the work. In 1741 he set out on a four-weeks' mission to Providence and Boston. Everywhere he was received with enthusiasm and many conversions resulted from his appeals. His power as an exhorter was unquestioned. In Taunton as

... he was delivering his discourse very pleasantly and moderately the depth and strength of feeling increased until some began to cry out both above and below, in awful distress and anguish of soul upon which he raised his voice that he might be heard above their out-cries but the distress and outcry spreading and increasing his voice at length was drowned that he could not be heard. Wherefore not being able to finish his sermon, with great apparent serenity and calmness of soul—he called to the distressed and bade them gather themselves together in the body of the seats below.

At Boston, where he remained four days, he was followed after a regular sermon in a church by a crowd of children on the street who demanded a sermon for themselves, a request which he gratified by turning into a private house and preaching to them there; a remarkable commentary on Wheelock's effectiveness, on the hysteria of the times, and on the curious character of the children of the day. During the twenty-seven days of absence on this journey he preached on forty-four occasions. McClure computes that during a year he preached a hundred more sermons than there are days in that period. In 1742 he wrote to his wife from New Haven;

Y^e week before Last I preached 10 sermons.... Last week I Preach^d 10 times again. My journey was to Guilford Where we Saw a Great Shaking among Many & hell break Lose and in a rage at it. We allso Saw a Great Shaking at Branford & Sowellling at East Haven. They tell me in Y^e two former places it was Greater than Ever had been seen before in them—Mr. Clap refuses to Let me preach in Y^e College or to Let Y^e Scholars come to hear me. O y^t God would Give him another heart.

Evidently Wheelock had no difficulty in working his hearers into the highly emotional state thought desirable by the revivalist. The excitement in the Great Awakening seems never to have been carried so far as in the camp meetings of the west in the early years of the nineteenth century, but it went far enough. Wheelock was too keen an observer to be entirely satisfied with results obtained in this way and he spoke disparagingly of "false conversions." Many of these changes of heart, nevertheless, seem to have been real. For years his correspondence was loaded with letters, generally from women, which set forth in long detail the state of the souls of the writers, with requests for the spiritual help which he seemed always ready to give. Twenty years after the Great Awakening we find a message addressed to him from Providence which makes up in piety what it lacks in orthography, and which begins with congratulations to Wheelock on the

Glorious out pouring of the Speret of God among you and Especially among the Youth as we have Jest Receved the News (Dear Sir) We Look upon It our Dewty as our Sperituall Father in Christ to Give you a Short account of our Releigious affairs Ever Sence about two and Twenty years ago When you first Labord amongst us With grat Sucksess.

Tracy, the historian of the Great Awakening, estimates that from 25,000 to 50,000 persons were converted during that period. Of these Wheelock must be credited with a goodly share.

Successful as were the efforts of Wheelock during the great revival, and considerable as was the repute brought to him thereby, the results were not to be recorded entirely on the credit side of the ledger. Bitter enmities were aroused, enmities which lasted throughout his life, enmities of those who had much power to injure him and the measures in which he was interested, and who used that power to the full. Among the more conservative members of the clergy, then as now, the manners of the evangelists were regarded with disdain, the excitement of revivals was looked upon with suspicion and the results were deemed of doubtful value. Moreover, in this case a special pretext for antagonism was afforded by the peculiar theories of those who were leading the new movement.

Both sides professed devotion to the doctrines of Calvin, but the "New Lights", as the radicals were called, drew from the Calvinistic premises certain conclusions which seem entirely logical but which were infuriating in their effect on the more conservative party. It was agreed by all that man is born in a condition of utter depravity, it was likewise agreed that the elect have attained a state of grace, and it was admitted that the difference between the two states must be profound. The New Lights, with much reason, argued that when such a profound change takes place in a person it ought to be manifest to anyone who observes it; in any case it should be apparent to the person himself, and he should be able to tell others about it; in other words, there should be a definite history of conversion. If no such experience exists, then that in itself is evidence that the person in question is still in a state of depravity and therefore surely doomed to hell fire. Now the latter condition was precisely that of many members of the church, who had drifted comfortably into its bosom with no intervening period of special mental and spiritual stress, and who rested there in full confidence that they were among the elect. It was the condition, likewise, of many of the most eminent members of the ministry. The laymen in this category were not regarded by the New Lights as a serious threat, since they simply represented so many more souls to save, but the clergy were looked upon with horror as a menace to religion itself. The danger of an unconverted ministry was the plea of the revivalists and they pushed it, in some cases, to wild extremes. Whitefield, in his early work, as he admitted himself, carried his accusations beyond the bounds of reasonable tolerance. Later, while maintaining the validity of the principle, he was careful to restrict himself to generalities in its application. Wheelock, in his early enthusiasms, probably exceeded the limits of good taste, although we have little direct evidence as to how far he was carried by his zeal. But there is no question as to how far the matter was pushed by the lunatic fringe of the movement. The most extreme of these zealots was the Reverend James Davenport of Southold, Long Island. Emerging from his parish after a season of mental excitement in which he preached for twenty-four hours on end, he descended upon Connecticut, accompanied by Wheelock's friend, Benjamin

Pomeroy, as "armor bearer", crazily inspired with the mission of reform. If he found the minister of a parish unsatisfactory, he denounced him by name and advised his parishioners to break away from their ecclesiastical bonds and to establish new churches of a more satisfactory character. He also had the engaging habit of referring to his own mother as an unconverted person and naming in plain terms her eventual destination. As a sample of his methods an extract from a prayer delivered in Boston may be cited:

Good Lord I will not mince the matter any longer with Thee for Thou knowest that I know that most of the ministers of the town of Boston and of the country are unconverted and are leading their people blindfold to hell . . . Pull them down, turn them out and put others in their places. They know nothing of Jesus Christ.

It is not a matter for wonder that his conduct "set the people in a mighty rustle" as one clerical observer reported, nor, as is common with wild enthusiasts, that he gained a devoted following. His last exploit was in New London, where he exhorted the people to form new congregations, and, as a preliminary step toward a better life, to burn in a huge bonfire all their gay clothing (his own contribution was a pair of red velvet breeches) and the authoritative theological books of the New England divines. It is interesting to note that Connecticut thrift overcame religious enthusiasm and, at the last moment, the clothing was snatched from the flames, but most of the books went up in smoke as a fitting sacrifice.

It was not, however, a safe proceeding to insult the clergy of Connecticut at this period; their influence with the secular arm was such that sharp punishment was sure to follow. As is so often the case in such matters, they overreached themselves in their method of control and accentuated the division which they intended to suppress. The Assembly in 1742 enacted a measure "for regulating abuses and correcting disorders in ecclesiastical affairs", which provided that any minister who should preach, without permission of the incumbent, in the parish of another should, without trial and upon mere information lodged with the clerk of his own society, be deprived of all legal protection in the enforcement of his contract with his people for the term of seven years, leaving him at the mercy

of voluntary contributions for support. Davenport denounced the law, but, as a resident of New York not being subject to the penalty, was summoned before the Assembly for trial on other grounds. After riotous scenes in the streets of Hartford he was finally exiled from the colony as of unsound mind. A similar verdict was rendered in Boston when he was arraigned for slandering the clergy of that city. Pomeroy was proceeded against in subsequent years as a result of a violation of the law which seems to have been largely accidental, and the full penalty was applied to him. Perhaps no measure could have been better adapted to insure his material prosperity. His people, sympathetic with his difficulties, contributed loyally the support which they were not legally obliged to give, and he labored under no hardship for subsistence during the seven years for which the penalty was imposed. The New Lights, however, regarded the measure with justifiable resentment, and it did much to accentuate the differences which divided the Connecticut church.

There is no evidence that Wheelock looked with any sympathy upon the extravagances of Davenport. In fact, it was through strong representations on his part and that of his colleague in the first parish of Lebanon, the Reverend Solomon Williams, that Davenport was induced in 1744 to make a solemn recantation of his errors. In particular, Wheelock resolutely set his face against the Separatist tendencies which Davenport encouraged, and was willing to go to almost any length to defeat them. But it happened that Davenport was brother of Wheelock's wife, while his "armor-bearer", Pomeroy, had married Wheelock's sister. From this family relationship conclusions as to the intimacy between Wheelock and the two evangelists were derived, which, in Davenport's case at least, were far from warranted. In 1743 appeared a ponderous volume by the influential Dr. Charles Chauncy, pastor of the First Church of Boston, entitled *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England*. Its purpose was the general condemnation of the revival and, in particular, of the extravagances coming in its train. Among other references to Wheelock, Dr. Chauncy said:

The gentlemen I have in view, besides Mr. D—t, are Messers Pomroy, Wheelock, Allen, Bliss, all of whom, it is generally known are one soul and have gone into the same methods of conduct: Tho' I believe Mr. D—t has outdone them all. These are the ministers who have had the chief hand in raising the commotions in Connecticut; whose sudden impulses and extraordinary Pretences to the spirit have been more general (in proportion) and extravagant than in any of the other governments.

Apparently, at first, Wheelock paid no attention to this statement. Years later, when its influence had become apparent, he endeavored to pin down Dr. Chauncy to proof of his charges and, when unable to induce the Boston divine to reply to his challenge, he issued a detailed denial. It is plain that, whatever may have been the extravagances of which Wheelock in his early years was guilty, they were much overestimated in Dr. Chauncy's accusation. It will also appear that after this early outbreak he was as conservative in his conduct as could have been desired. Nevertheless, the opinion of Wheelock to which Dr. Chauncy gave expression was generally held by a dominating section of the clergy of Boston and even extended to his *alma mater*, Yale. It was a prejudice which no efforts on his part could change, and it remained a constant factor, always to be allowed for, in any plan which he undertook. We shall meet it repeatedly in our consideration of the school and college.

It was, of course, impossible to maintain the congregations permanently on the high plane of emotionalism reached in the great revival. Jonathan Edwards attempted to do it, and found himself, by an almost unanimous vote of his flock at Northampton, without any charge at all. Other clergymen were more accommodating and, while bemoaning among themselves the "low state of religion", bided their time until matters should improve. Wheelock's business in life, however, was the saving of souls, and in the pursuit of that business his tireless energy could give him no rest. If the whites were temporarily insensitive to the call of religion, perhaps something might be done with the Indians. To them he turned his attention, and the Christianizing of the savages became thenceforth the main interest of his life.

That interest was aroused by the success which he had already attained in the training of an Indian boy of the Mohegan tribe, named Samson Occom. This lad was born in 1723 and, according to his own account, remained until the age of sixteen in a state of ignorance and heathenism. One of the traveling evangelists visited New London at this time and Occom, in his neighboring Indian village, was among those carried away by his influence. The boy determined to become better acquainted with the English language, to master the arts of reading and writing, to adapt himself to the habits and religion of his white neighbors. Some progress he made by himself, with whatever assistance could be obtained in his home environment, but he was anxious for added opportunities. Like many of the clergymen of the day, Wheelock was accustomed to add to his income by preparing boys for college, and Occom, learning of the facilities thus afforded, prevailed upon his mother to plead with Wheelock to admit him into this school. This she succeeded in doing, rather to Occom's surprise, and the lad entered Wheelock's family in December, 1743. Here he remained until 1747, a docile and reasonably intelligent pupil. By this training he was prepared for college, but difficulties with his eyes forbade further study at that time. After teaching school for a period, he studied theology with Pomeroy and finally settled among the Montauk tribe on the eastern tip of Long Island as schoolmaster and preacher, providing in the meantime for his support by labors as a farmer, cooper and bookbinder. He was ordained in 1759. For the first two years of his service he received no compensation, then he was given £20 to pay his debts and, in addition, for nine years £20 annually as a salary by the Boston Board (later to be described), about one-eighth of the sum which a white man in such a position would have demanded. Occom had a large family and was wretchedly poor, but as a Christianized Indian he was a marked success. For his example Wheelock was justified in anticipating that similar results could be obtained on a larger scale, should proper efforts be made. Curiously enough, with none of the many Indians who subsequently came under his charge was that success in large measure repeated.

One is tempted to wonder why the Puritans should have troubled themselves with the task of Christianizing the savages and whether, having safely guided their proteges to heaven, they might not thereupon be expected to put forth every effort to drive their red brethren, by chicane or by force, from that portion of the celestial realm assigned to their use. At least that was what they did on this mundane sphere. The scruples of Calvinism were ineffective in preserving to the Indians any considerable portion of their lands, in keeping from them strong drink, (although there was some attempt to prohibit such sales by law) or in preventing devastating reprisals for attempts on the part of the redskins to maintain their rights by force. As a result, while the colonists increased in New England by leaps and bounds, the Indians declined in an equal ratio, so that, in Wheelock's time, they were a miserable remnant, wretchedly poor and often besotted. The field for missionary effort was evidently, for the most part, beyond the bounds of that region. McClure smugly inquires concerning this disappearance of the savages:

Must we not ascribe it to the sovereign pleasure of the Most High, who divides to the nations their inheritance, who pulleth down one and raiseth up another?

The answer to this question must have been more conducive to pious resignation on the part of the English than it was on that of the Indians. When Wheelock received as the sole contents of the collection basket a bullet and a gun-flint, as a result of his requests for subscriptions urged upon a Connecticut congregation, it was evident that there were many in the colonies of the opinion that the only good Indian is one who is dead.

But such a picture gives a misleading impression if it is taken to represent the attitude of New England as a whole. Many there were who viewed the condition of the aborigines with sympathy. The clergy, in particular, were keenly impressed with the fact that the Indians had souls which it was their duty to save. So we find such efforts as the pioneering mission of Eliot at Natick, of John Sergeant at Stockbridge, of the Brainerds among the Delawares of New Jersey. If all the remnants of the New England tribes at this time were

not "praying Indians", their failure to reach that goal was not through lack of opportunity. Moreover a number of societies in England were active in the work of supplying means for missionary effort. Two of them are of particular importance to this story. "The Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent" was founded in London in 1649, and re-chartered in 1661. It will be referred to henceforth as the London Society. It was represented in Boston by a Board of Commissioners, which we will call the Boston Board. "The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge", founded in 1709 (termed the Scotch Society), was represented in Boston by a Board of Correspondents and in New York by a similar one. The duties of the latter, after the founding of Princeton, were transferred to the Trustees of that institution. These bodies will be called the Boston and the New Jersey Correspondents.

It was thus into no new or untried field that Wheelock entered. He was impressed, as were many others, by the necessity of saving the souls of the savages, and he was well aware that the work must be done at once if any Indians were to survive to be saved. The method which he evolved, however, had the merit of originality. In previous attempts to foster Indian education, the schools had been brought to the heathen and placed in their midst. The result, in general, was far from satisfactory. The school was disturbed by the frequent wanderings of the tribes, attendance was sporadic, and whatever good effect might be produced was neutralized by the irregularities and laxities to which the pupil was exposed in the life of his home. It was Wheelock's purpose to remove the child from his native environment, to keep him at a distance from his family so that visits could be but infrequent, and to surround him with the influences of the Puritan home and Puritan church. The impressions and habits thus formed in childhood would, he hoped, become permanent, so that when the young man, thus Christianized, educated and civilized, should return to his tribe, he could be relied upon to act as a powerful influence toward bringing his savage brethren to similar ideals. In urging his plan, while the saving of souls was made the main consideration, entirely practical by-products were not neglected. The presence of Indian boys in the school

would act, he said, as a restraining influence upon their parents and would make them less likely to enter into hostilities against those among whom their children were living. Their presence would also serve as a counterbalance to the insidious efforts of the Jesuits among the tribes, and to the resulting attachment of the aborigines to the French. In his opinion, money spent in education would be far more fruitful in its influence for peace than that devoted to armaments. Moreover, instruction in the arts of husbandry was a central feature of the plan. If the Indians could be persuaded to rely upon agriculture rather than upon hunting for their livelihood, the area of land necessary for their support would be tremendously reduced and the most troublesome cause of friction between them and the whites would be minimized. Again, the expense of missionary work would be decreased and its effectiveness increased. Indian missionaries would be received by tribes who would not harbor those who were white, their familiarity with Indian customs would prevent serious errors of judgment, their support would require a minimum of expenditure, and interpreters would not be needed. The Indian missionaries would be docile under control and practically at the mercy of those under whose patronage they lived, raised as they were by their education to be no longer content with the life of the ordinary savage, and precluded by their color from entering into competition with the English in the regular work of the ministry. Altogether, the scheme seemed to many to be a well rounded one and entirely feasible in its application.

The weakness of it is of course apparent to us, but at the time it seems not to have been recognized by Wheelock nor by his New England contemporaries. It lay in the fact that Indians were Indians, and what Wheelock was attempting to do was entirely to remake these savages into a form quite different from that natural to them. Qualities innate to the redskins impressed him with horror. Speaking of one of his boys he said, "I have taken much Pains to purge all the Indian out of him, but after all a little of it will sometimes appear". Christianizing the Indian meant to him bringing the savage within the fold of the Calvinistic creed, with all the inhibitions on perfectly natural impulses which the Puritan church imposed; civilizing him meant imposing upon the native

the laborious and monotonous life of the Connecticut farmer or artisan, with his somewhat penurious and narrow point of view. It is difficult enough to remake anyone; to remold the savage so that he might conform to an ideal so different from that derived from his native environment was indeed a herculean task. The Connecticut Puritan possessed many admirable qualities, but his life was hardly that which an unprejudiced observer, untrammelled by being reared under its traditions, would voluntarily select for himself. An Episcopal opponent of Wheelock, in an overdrawn and jaundiced criticism of the work of his mission, despite his prejudice conveys a real idea of the difficulty:

The Presbyterians are tucking and squeezing in every possible Crevice they can their Missionaries amongst the Indians, who from their Solemnity, with ungraceful stiffness, and those recluse and unsociable dejected Airs which so remarkably distinguishes those Splenetic & frightened Enthusiasts: for while these are continued, Piety is quite striped of its own proper Ornaments and assumes the Habit of Craft, Vice, and Ill nature—and is enough to prejudice the Indians against the sublime Truths of the Gospel.

Whatever reasons we may assign for the result, it will become evident that the fruits of Wheelock's efforts came very far from satisfying his expectations, and he soon found that his plan could be effective only after extensive modification.

No such fears troubled him, however, as he started upon his new enterprise. He went about the matter with characteristic energy and enthusiasm, and with sound business sense. In December, 1754, he received from the Reverend John Brainerd two Indian boys of the Delaware tribe in New Jersey, John Pumshire and Jacob Woolley, the former fourteen years of age, the latter eleven. They made the journey to Lebanon, a distance of two hundred miles, on foot, with no guide but the written directions given them by Brainerd. Woolley remained in the school many years, but Pumshire was sent home on account of ill health in November, 1756, and died soon after. Wheelock lamented his fate but learned from it much concerning the special care which his Indian boys required. In his place came in April, 1757, two other boys of the same tribe, Joseph Woolley

and Hezekiah Calvin. Brainerd described the latter as a "Smart little Fellow, but will want taking Care of. He loves to play and will leave his Hat in one Place & his Mittens in another, . . . Your Wisdom will direct". One has a feeling of sympathy for the unsuspecting Indian lad who was thus to come under the domination of the austere Puritan divine. Perhaps our sympathy is misplaced. McClure says of Wheelock, "While other teachers appeared before their pupils as scrupulous legislators or stern judges, he was always the gentle and affectionate father of his tawny family". In truth, he seemed admirably adapted to the work. While the lads under his charge always looked upon him with awe, nevertheless there appeared in nearly all cases a sense of veneration and sometimes one of real affection. In December, 1758, Joseph Johnson, a Mohegan, entered the school, and in April, 1759, David Fowler, a Montauk, brother-in-law of Occom. These two boys, especially the second, became in after years the most successful of Wheelock's pupils, next to Occom himself. In 1760 Occom's son Aaron and Isaiah Uncas, presumptive chief of the Mohegans, made their appearance.

The school was thus of slow but steady growth. The state of war between English and French, existing during this period, made it quite impossible for Wheelock to extend his efforts beyond southern New England and New Jersey. Nevertheless, at the end of 1760 he had under his charge eight Indians, at an expense which could not have been less than £20 a year for each, and support for them must be provided. Thus began his struggles with ways and means, a struggle which weighed upon his mind to the day of his death.

The advent of the Indians in Lebanon attracted much attention, and Wheelock's plan received the hearty approval of many of the godly people of Connecticut. Some of this approval was expressed in terms of money. A subscription was undertaken in 1755 which produced about £500. According to the terms of the agreement, the principal of this amount was not collected at once, but the interest upon it at 6 per cent. was payable annually until the main sum should be called for. In the same year Col. Joshua More,¹ a wealthy farmer of Mansfield, was induced to give to a group of trustees,

¹ So he spelled his name. In after years, as applied to the school, it was modified to Moor.

consisting of Colonel Elisha Williams, former Rector (or President) of Yale, the Reverend Samuel Moseley of Windham, Wheelock and Pomeroy, about two acres of land in Lebanon, upon which was a "convenient tenement", the whole for the purpose of "Educating such of the Indian Natives of any or all the Indian Tribes of North America or other poor persons in reading, writing and all Liberal Arts and Sciences as the said Trustees shall think best and proper, and especially for instructing them in the Knowledge & Practice of the Protestant Christian Religion". It will be noted that by the terms of the deed, probably dictated by Wheelock, the benefits of the endowment were not restricted solely to Indians. The value of the property was about £500. The "tenement" became and remained, until removal of the institution to Hanover, the home of the school, the schoolrooms being on the lower floor and the lodgings of the boys on the upper one. Much modified, diminished in size and cut down to a single story, it survives, so far as the frame is concerned, as the present schoolhouse at Columbia. The Boston Board likewise became interested in the work. In 1756 Wheelock received from it a grant of £12, and in 1758 one of £20. The latter donation was continued annually until the English mission, later to be described, brought so much money to the school that the Board considered its assistance to be no longer needed. Most important of all, the attention of Whitefield was directed to the infant institution, and he pledged himself to do all that he could to aid the cause, a pledge which he abundantly redeemed. As yet, however, the school was run largely at Wheelock's own expense. The accounts from its origin to December 23, 1760, show that the cost of operation had been £285.14.4, while the receipts from all sources were £156.9.6. leaving a deficit of £129.4.10.

The possession of real property brought in its train certain complications. Appeal to William Smith, a leading barrister in New York, elicited the opinion that a deed of trust executed by an individual had no legal standing, while the device of a double set of trustees, which the learned lawyer recommended as legally satisfactory, appealed to everyone of common sense as too cumbersome to be workable. It was evident that some kind of incorporation was desirable. Through the efforts of Whitefield, Denis DeBerdt, a

London merchant, and Dr. Benjamin Avery of the same city, interested themselves in the matter and presented a petition for a royal charter to Lord Halifax, Secretary of State. That nobleman expressed his cordial approval of the enterprise but advised that a colonial charter should be secured, because of the expenses attendant upon royal incorporation. Wheelock was reluctant to take this action, as it would limit possible sites for his school to the colony involved. However, he finally decided to make such an appeal to Connecticut. His application was approved by the Lower House but rejected by the Council, for reasons which seem evasive and hardly to the point. The real motive of refusal, while never thus stated by Wheelock himself and only to be surmised, was probably the opposition of Yale, which looked with no favor upon an institution of near-collegiate grade set up under her very nose. At least, that is the explanation of the difficulty bluntly given some years later by the advocates of one of the localities bidding for the school, as an argument for its removal from Connecticut. The Council advised Wheelock to apply for a royal charter, a grant of which, upon investigation, was found to be quite out of the question in the absence of favorable action by the colony. Thus, for the time, the quest for a charter had to be abandoned, and Wheelock, for many years, labored under great embarrassment in soliciting funds for an institution which had no legal status.

In 1761 the pace of the movement began to accelerate. France had been driven from North America and Indian disturbances coming from French influence were no longer to be feared, although uprisings, culminating in the conspiracy of Pontiac, continued for some years. The New England Indians were no longer of much account, but the Six Nations (or Iroquois), occupying the center of the colony of New York, were numerous, powerful and obstreperous. It was agreed by all that civilization and Christianity applied to them would do no harm. Moreover, financial aid might result from work among them. In 1751 Sir Peter Warren had bequeathed to the colony of Massachusetts the sum of £750, the interest of which was to be devoted to the education of the children of the Iroquois tribes. Nothing had been done with the fund up to this time. Wheelock now applied to the Assembly for the award of

a grant from it, and in November, 1761, he was given £72 for the support of six children of the Iroquois for one year. This grant was continued, although against persistent opposition from powerful elements in Boston, until 1767.

Success among the Six Nations was largely dependent upon the favor of one person, Sir William Johnson, a man of most remarkable character and influence. Of Irish birth, brought to America by his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, to manage the latter's large estates in the Mohawk valley, soon in possession of immense tracts of land of his own, Indian trader, Superintendent of Indian Affairs by royal appointment, perhaps the richest of the colonists and the second American baronet, he enjoyed among the Iroquois a reputation for honesty and upright dealing such as no Englishman in the land possessed. Moreover, on account of the victory gained by him (despite his lack of military training) over Dieskau near Fort Edward in 1755, at a time when regular English commanders were maintaining their regularity by the uniformity of their defeats, he was the best known and most highly esteemed of the American colonists in England itself. After some preliminary correspondence, Wheelock in 1761 sent Occom (who had now retired from Montauk, and had established himself in a new house at Mohegan) accompanied by David Fowler to ask of Johnson his patronage and support. The response of the Indian agent was all that could have been wished for; he expressed his interest in the school and promised to do all in his power to secure for Wheelock the Indian boys whom he desired. Occom went on to the Oneida country and spent the summer there; the first of the missions established among that tribe, which subsequently was to be so fruitful a field. As a result of these efforts five Mohawk boys came to Wheelock's school in that year. Among them was the most famous of his Indian pupils, Joseph Brant, subsequently a renowned Mohawk chieftain, the dreaded foe of the Americans in the Revolutionary War, but generally esteemed for his sagacity and wise leadership. Brant stayed at the school a little over a year. He always cherished the highest esteem for his master and years later, from his home in Canada, he sent two of his sons to the school in Hanover with a message of warm affection to Wheelock's son and successor, ex-

pressing the hope that his boys would be able for a long period to enjoy the advantages of which he himself had had too brief an experience. In 1762 three more Mohawks came to the school, as well as two Delawares and three representatives of the New England tribes. So it went. By the close of 1765 twenty-nine Indian boys, of whom fourteen were from the Six Nations, seven from the Delawares, and eight from the New England tribes, had been enrolled in his school for longer or shorter periods. Wheelock recognized the fact that the Indians on their return to their homes should not be allowed to fall into a way of living in which the standards of civilization were relaxed. He therefore secured Indian girls to be trained in the arts of the housewife, whom he expected to become wives of his pupils as they returned to their native environment. These girls he placed with pious families in his parish, requiring their attendance in the school one day in each week. Ten of them, up to 1765, were members of his school. Of course not all the boys and girls were present at any one time, but the average enrollment of Indians at this period was in the vicinity of eighteen.

In addition, a certain number of English boys were trained with the Indians. That was the method adopted by Wheelock to obtain leaders for his missionary efforts. Youths in humble circumstances, but of promising mentality, were selected. They were required to file a bond by means of which Wheelock might be indemnified for the expenses of their education if subsequently they did not pursue a missionary career, and their training, through school and college, was then provided at the expense of the endowment. Through arrangements with Princeton and afterwards with Yale, much of the work of college grade was actually done in the school. Some of the time of these students was also spent in the mission field, where they served as schoolmasters and studied the language of the tribe to which they were sent. While at the school the English boys and the Indians lived together, and a spirit of comradeship was supposed to develop among them. The first youth with whom this arrangement was made subsequently became by far the most successful of the group. He was Samuel Kirkland, of Norwich, who entered the school in 1760 and was enrolled in Princeton as a sophomore in 1762. His degree from that college came to him *in absentia* in 1765

when he had entered upon his work among Indians. In 1764 David Avery, of Norwich, and David McClure, of Boston, entered the institution. We shall hear much of them as we continue. Altogether, by 1765, Wheelock had enrolled eight English boys in his school.

This progress was encouraging but it called for money. The school lived from hand to mouth. The daily demands of the institution might well have worried a nervous person, but Wheelock was placidly undisturbed. He was full of faith that the Lord would provide, and the Lord usually did, but only at the last possible moment. Not that Wheelock rested in idleness on his faith; he was untiring in the work of solicitation. He was a most skillful beggar, plausible, persistent, tactful, and, through it all, possessed of a keen sense of dignity and self-respect. He regarded himself, with all sincerity, as the agent of Christ, and he conducted himself with the poise that a servant of Christ might be expected to show. In 1763, wearied by continual repetition of letter-writing in setting forth the claims of his school, he published the first of his *Narratives*, which told the story of the institution up to that date and which was so successful in attaining its end that continuations were issued in 1765, 1766 (with a second edition in 1767), 1769, 1771, 1773 (in two editions) and 1775. The editions of 1766 and 1769 were published in England. The series, as a whole, gives the complete story of the school and of the work of the missions.

Wheelock's sources of revenue, aside from his two grants from Boston, were of the most diverse character. The influence of Whitefield was apparent. In 1761 the institution received a gift of £50 sterling from the Marquis of Lothian and another of an equal amount in 1762. In the former year Denis DeBerdt sent £20 sterling, which had been collected in London. In 1762 Whitefield gave a bell to the school, Skipper Townsend of Boston donated two quintals of cod and a barrel of rice, and William Dickson of Edinburgh gave twenty books. In 1763 the Connecticut Assembly issued a "brief," authorizing collections in the churches of the state. On a journey to Portsmouth, Wheelock obtained subscriptions amounting to £44 and the Assembly of New Hampshire awarded a grant of £50. The Earl of Sterling gave £30. In 1764 a collection

in a New York church amounted to £100, Whitefield sent a box of globes, Mr. Pemberton of Boston £100, a collection of goods in Newburyport brought in £40, and John Phillips of Exeter made a gift of £100, the first of a long series. In 1765 an "unnamed lady in England" gave £100 sterling. This lady seems, beyond doubt, to have been Selina, Countess of Huntington, the patron saint of Methodism. These are merely examples of the diverse sources of the contributions which were received. They were necessary and welcome but still far from sufficient. In 1765 Wheelock's accounts showed that the disbursements of the school from the beginning had exceeded the receipts by £280. In addition, he had given his own persistent and tireless labor of superintendence with no thought of remuneration.

The proper care of Indian youths evidently required a technique of its own. In 1761 Wheelock wrote to Whitefield;

None know, nor can any, without Experience, Well conceive of the Difficulty of Educating an Indian. They would soon kill themselves with Eating and Sloth, if constant care were not exercised for them—at least the first year. They are used to set upon the Ground and it is as natural for them as a seat to our Children—they are not wont to have any Cloathes but what they wear, nor will they, without much Pains, be brot to take Care of any,—They are used to a Sordid Manner of Dress and love it as well as our Children to be clean. They are not used to any Regular Government, the Sad Consequences of which you may a little guess at. They are used to live from Hand to Mouth (as we Speak) and have no care for Futurity, they have never been used to the Furniture of an English House and dont know but that a Wineglass is as strong as an Handiron. Our Language when they Seem to have got it is not their Mother Tongue, and they cannot receive nor communicate in that as in their own. It is a long time before they will learn the proper Place & Use of the Particles, A, An, the &c and they are as unpolished & Uncultivated within as without. However experience has taught us that it may be done. And they lie as open to conviction of the Truth of their State When proper matter of Conviction is communicated to them as any and there is Much Ground to hope for

their Conversion and I am still of Opinion that the Time of God's Mercy to them is now near at Hand.

The regular instruction of the flock was in the hands of a master, but Wheelock himself was in charge of the devotional exercise. The routine of the day, as described in the first *Narrative*, was as follows. The boys were required to be clean and decently dressed and ready to attend prayers before sunrise in the fall and winter, and at six o'clock in the summer. The scriptures were read and those who were able answered questions in the Assembly's Catechism. After a short period of diversion, school began at nine and ended at twelve, with a second session from two to five. Evening prayers were held before dark, then came a period of study. All the members of the school were required to attend public worship twice on Sunday. Between the services a master heard them read and catechised and discoursed with them. Once or twice a week they heard a discourse calculated to their capacities. It should be remembered that a number of English charity students were preparing for college in the school (as well as some independent students) and that, at times, missionary students already in college were carrying on *in absentia* the work supposed to be done in those institutions. The labors of the master who had charge of these tasks must have been sufficiently onerous.

We also have a description of the work of the school in a letter from a Boston merchant, John Smith, which is too long for complete quotation. Among other things he said;

And it is really charming to see Indian Youths of Different Tribes & Languages in pure English reading the Work of God & speaking with Exactness & accuracy on points (either chosen by themselves or given out to them) in the Severall arts and sciences, And especially to see this done with at Least a seeming Mixture of Obedience to God, a fillial Love & Reverence to Mr. Wheelock & yet with great Ambition to Excell each other

He also called attention to their love of music and their especial enjoyment of the musical portion of the devotional exercises. It is rather surprising, indeed, to find frequent references to this par-

ticular trait of the aborigines. One of Wheelock's pupils, Occom, rose in this respect to creative heights. The hymn "Awaked by Sinai's Awful Sound", for many years included in standard collections, is from his pen, while his own hymnal (published in 1774, with two subsequent editions) probably contains a number of other metrical works of his composition.

The letter just mentioned sheds an interesting side-light on Wheelock's methods. The context would lead us to believe that the author was a disinterested gentleman of refinement, leisurely traveling through New England more or less at random, with the laudable ambition of describing to the public those features encountered in his journey which seemed of greatest interest. As a matter of fact, Smith was Wheelock's business representative in Boston, whole-heartedly devoted to the cause of Indian education, and, from the first, keenly interested in the school. While the facts which he reported were essentially correct, the evidence could hardly be regarded as that of a disinterested observer. The skill of Wheelock in procuring favorable publicity, and generally in the works of propaganda, must be regarded with respect even in these days when the art of advertising has reached such heights.

In addition to the intellectual training supplied by the school, Wheelock considered it of the highest importance that his students should become experienced in the practical arts, particularly that of agriculture. This experience was to be gained by labor on his farm. He required it not only of the Indians, but also of his English charity students, a large part of whose efforts, in their future missions, was to be devoted to instruction of their proteges in such matters. The demand seems reasonable but it gave rise to misconceptions; it was indeed asserted that Wheelock was using his pupils as a source of cheap labor upon his farm. Even if the utility of agricultural training were granted, it remained true that the Indians did not like the work, nor, if the truth is known, did his white pupils care much more for it. One of the aborigines, at a much later date, made this protest;

I understand the Doctor when I talked with him, that we must work as much as to pay our way and if we Should what good will

the Charity money do the Indians, wich was given them, if we poor Indians Shall work as much as to pay for our learning we can go Some other place as good as here.

No doubt this was regarded by its author as a masterpiece of logic. Despite the objections continually raised to the requirement, Wheelock insisted upon it to the end.

In general, so long as his Indian boys were young the affairs of the school ran smoothly enough. Wheelock speaks of them as "orderly, governable, easy & contented". As they grew older they were not handled so readily. In his later years even his most promising pupil, David Fowler, could not always be trusted. Returning from a mission, he took to himself a wife from among the Indian girls in the school. Wheelock, much pleased, incautiously gave him an unrestricted order for a proper equipment. Fowler's idea of what a young Indian couple should wear was evidently patterned on the attire of Solomon, and Wheelock was horrified at the resulting expense. In the correspondence which ensued the contending parties could not seem to agree on the issue involved. Fowler's plea was based on the high value of his services and his personal excellence, far exceeding that of any other Indian, while Wheelock's point was that he could not "use Christ's money to clothe his pupils like courtiers". The result of the controversy was a very disgruntled young Indian. Far more serious was the case of Jacob Woolley. He was one of the first two Indians in the school, sent by Brainerd in 1754. His progress was excellent, he was eventually prepared for college and was sent to Princeton in the fall of 1759. Here, too, his work was satisfactory until his senior year, when he was sent home by President Finley as "having lost all sense of honor", which seems to mean that he was drunk much of the time and idle all the time. Incidentally, it may be said that Wheelock sent no more of his Indians to college until he had an institution of his own where he could give them his personal attention. Even when the Indian had returned to his master's tutelage, the improvement in his conduct was not marked. Wheelock's reply to the remonstrance of one of his friends, who was inclined to believe that Woolley was treated too harshly, gives an idea of some of his difficulties with the lad;

Had you heard the Arguments, Intreaties, everything moving within my power, which has Scores of Times caused his Tears to flow, and had you seen the Interchangeable Expressions and evidence of Sinful pride, had you heard his horrid Blasphemies agst Heaven, Imprecations of Dam upon himself, threats of vengeance upon me and another without Provocation, had you seen his Contempt for all Authority and Deafness to all Intreaties & Y^e Terror which my fam. & School have been put into for fear of Murther—insomuch as one memb^r of it was Confined in a Neighboring House for part of a Day and a Night &c, &c, horribila dictu—and when nothing would avail he was told Y^e Extreme Course must and should be used, and all this horrid Scene before the School tho' to this day a Secret in the Neighborhood.

Evidently the conduct of an Indian school had its moments of tension. Soon after this outbreak Woolley ran away and disappears from the story.

The mission of Occom to the Oneidas in 1761 has been mentioned. He went again in 1762, but found a state of famine prevailing in the tribe which drove him home before the end of the summer. In the next year he was likewise driven back by the Pontiac Wars, while in 1764, Wheelock, lacking money, sent him by the way of New York, where Whitefield then was, with the purpose that the latter would supply him with funds. Whitefield took offense at the request and sent Occom back to Mohegan, an action which nearly caused a break between the English preacher and his Connecticut friend.

Now, however, the time was ripe for missionary enterprises on a larger scale. A Yale graduate, Charles Jeffrey Smith, a young man of independent means, had become interested in the cause, had served gratuitously as master of the school and had determined to devote himself to the work of converting the heathen. Unfortunately, as matters developed, his health did not permit him to engage in active service, but he remained a valued adviser of Wheelock as long as he lived. Kirkland, however, was ready for the task, and two graduates of Yale, Titus Smith, 1764, and Theophilus Chamberlain, 1765, were also enrolled in the enterprise. The latter

possessed the advantage of having lived among the Indians for some time as a captive. In addition, three Indian boys in the school (Joseph Woolley, Hezekiah Calvin, and David Fowler) were considered fully qualified to act as independent school teachers, and six others, of tenderer years, to serve in a similar capacity under the direction of English missionaries. In order that the work might have official sanction of some kind, the Scotch Society was induced to set up a Board of Correspondents in Connecticut, composed of a number of ministers in that colony. This Board, in addition to the supervision of missionary enterprises, was authorized to collect money for Wheelock's school and to control its expenditure, thus alleviating the difficulty caused by a lack of legal incorporation.

The story of the missionary efforts under Wheelock's leadership is long and complicated. Some of it vies in interest with the work of the Jesuit missions a hundred years before, so graphically described by Parkman, although the element of intense tragedy is lacking; some of it is drab and earthy enough. Space will permit merely the recital of the bare outlines of the story.

The first of the missionaries to depart was Kirkland, who started on his journey in October, 1764, accompanied by Joseph Woolley. His plan was exceedingly bold and one which gave promise of great personal danger. It was no less than a visit to the Senecas, the largest, the most remote and the most savage of the tribes of the Six Nations, never before visited by a Protestant missionary. Reaching the seat of Sir William Johnson, he remained there for six weeks, sending Woolley to teach school at Onohoquaga, a village of semi-civilized Mohawks on the Susquehanna River. He then pushed through the Oneida country and finally reached Canadesaga, the chief town of the Senecas, on February 7, 1765. Here for a long time he was in the utmost danger. Received at first in a kindly fashion, and entertained at the house of a principal chief, it unfortunately happened that the head of the family died shortly after the arrival of the missionary. By many of the Indians this calamity was attributed to the malign influence of the white, and he was marked for death. Curiously enough, it was the kin of the dead man who protected him and finally adopted him as their brother. Famine invaded the community, and Kirkland's description of the

expedients adopted by his Indian friends to ward off starvation makes uneasy reading for the squeamish. As time went on, his position became more easy, although for a long period he was in danger when strange Indians came to the village, and often was compelled to take to the woods until the hostile visitors should depart. Some of his escapes were very narrow ones indeed. Nevertheless, as his work continued, he succeeded in winning the confidence of the natives and his position became much less perilous. After a stay of eighteen months he returned to Connecticut in the spring of 1766, accompanied by his adopted brother, the second chief of the Senecas. This dusky potentate was received with great honor by the authorities of the colony. The Assembly awarded him a grant of £20, a suit of brilliant regimentals, and a horse, and the chieftain departed much pleased by his reception. Joseph Woolley established his school successfully, but soon fell a victim to consumption. Wheelock mourned him as one of the most promising of his pupils.

Kirkland was the most successful of the missionaries who were trained under Wheelock's influence, and the only one who remained in the field for any long period. He possessed the qualities necessary to attain a high degree of influence among the Indians, and his life was devoted to missionary work. We shall hear much of him as we proceed.

In the meantime the spring of 1765 brought a further expansion in Wheelock's activities among the Six Nations. The start was made with most favorable prospects of success. In March, the Connecticut Correspondents met to examine and ordain Chamberlain and Titus Smith. At the very hour set for the meeting a strange red-skin appeared. He was Good Peter, a Christianized Indian from Onohoquaga on the Susquehanna, a field where the Boston Board had for a time supported missionary work, but which it had now apparently abandoned. He came to ask that a missionary and a schoolmaster should once again be maintained in his village. Half an hour later appeared Elisha Gunn, an experienced interpreter, who was open to engagement in the mission field. In this unpremeditated meeting of all the factors needed for the establishment of a mission, Wheelock could see only the hand of God, although

the outcome was to show that such a view of the situation was over-optimistic.

Wheelock had insufficient funds to equip so large a party but, providentially again as he thought, a collection of £88 was received from a New York church the day before that set for the departure of the expedition. The plan of campaign (in addition to the work of Kirkland among the Senecas) called for the settlement of Titus Smith at Onohoquaga, while Chamberlain was to hold a roving commission in the Mohawk Valley and among the Oneidas, preaching at various points, establishing schools and superintending their management. Eight Indian boys were also sent to the field to serve as schoolmasters. As time went on, reports of the activities of the party began to come back to Lebanon. Schools were readily accepted in many of the villages, but their success varied with circumstances. Some of the schoolmasters were active and self-reliant, some of them tended to lapse into idleness upon slight provocation and were easily discouraged at small obstacles. The preaching of the missionaries was generally listened to by a portion of the villagers, but here again the effects were varying. Some of the reports were optimistic, some pessimistic, but all of them (except one which asked for pork) were in agreement in stressing the need for money. No doubt the missionaries and schoolmasters needed the supply, but Wheelock had very little to furnish them. At Onohoquaga the anticipated success was not attained. Titus Smith reached that point after some delay, but soon after his arrival another missionary appeared, sent out by the Boston Board. The leaders of that society had been content to neglect the mission until they learned of Wheelock's plan to enter the field. Then they bestirred themselves with unwonted activity, although the missionary whom they sent had not been informed of the real state of the situation and was much embarrassed at finding the post occupied. He spoke of Wheelock's efforts in terms of the highest praise and said that he never would have consented to enter the field had he known the real facts. Gunn, the interpreter, was under obligations to the Boston Board and felt obliged to transfer his allegiance to their agent. There was nothing for Titus Smith to do except depart, which he did with the best grace he could muster. The Boston Board also sent a school-

master, but, as he could not speak a word of the Indian language, Woolley was allowed to remain in the capacity of instructor until his death late in the year. Smith returned to Lebanon in the fall.

Chamberlain's letters from the Oneida country fluctuated between the extremes of optimism and pessimism. At times he complained that the Indians would not listen to his sermons, that the schools were falling off, that the schoolmasters would not obey his instructions, that they were indolent and were relapsing into savage ways. At other times the situation would seem more encouraging and the letters would assume a more cheerful tone. In the fall he came to Connecticut for a visit, but soon returned to his post for the winter.

At the beginning of the following year (1766) the progress of the enterprise was hampered by the retirement of Titus Smith, who declined further service on the ground of ill health. Wheelock could find no one to take the vacant place. After sending Benjamin Pomeroy and his son, Ralph Wheelock, to Sir William Johnson on a reconnoitering expedition, he determined to put into the field, temporarily, his young English pupils, David McClure, Samuel Johnson, and Aaron Kinne, who were to teach school and, in the process, learn the Indian language. In the spring, Kirkland had returned from the Senecas to receive regular ordination. It was determined to withdraw him from that tribe and to establish him with Chamberlain among the Oneidas, as a more central and promising field and one which was to occupy him for nearly forty years. The schools were continued during the year much as usual, some of them fairly effective in their operation, some of them in a languishing condition. In the fall, however, Chamberlain found that he was sated with the career of a missionary and asked for dismissal from the service.

Indeed, life among the Indians offered few attractions. Whether the "noble red men" ever had much nobility is a doubtful question; they certainly showed few indications of it after they had absorbed the vices of the whites. Periodic orgies of drunken revelry made life dangerous for the stranger in their midst. Frequent failures of their always meager crops, coupled with increasing scarcity of game, resulted in periods of starvation. Even in times of plenty, the nature

of much of their food and the method of preparation of all of it left much to be desired. Their frequent migrations for hunting and fishing made the maintenance of schools difficult and that of settled religious services uncertain. Moreover, the greater number of the savages were perfectly satisfied with their lives as they lived them. Their only anxiety was lest they should lose their lands to the whites, and they were suspicious of the advent of missionaries as the first step in that process. Chamberlain probably showed his unfitness for missionary work when he said, at the start of his career, "I hate the sight of such creatures. Pray for me that I may cheerfully exert my little strength to reform them", but his expression was natural enough. In some cases even Wheelock's Indian representatives found the customs of their wild brethren somewhat trying. David Fowler expressed his desire for a civilized helpmate in these terms;

I find it very hard to live without a Rib—for I am obliged to eat with Dogs, I say with Dogs because they are continually licking Water out of their Pots and Kettles. Yes I have often seen Dogs eating of their Victuals when they set their Dishes down. They would only make a little Noise to show their Displeasure to the Dogs and take up the Dish and finish off what was left, their Cooks are as nasty as Hogs; their Cloaths are as black & greasy as my Shoes; their Hands are dirty as my feet. But they clean them by kneading Bread; their hands will be very clean after they have kneaded 3 or 4 Loaves of Bread.

Others of the Indian schoolmasters felt no such qualms. They shed the veneer of civilization and relapsed into savagery with perfect content.

Nevertheless, at this time the results seemed as satisfactory as could have been expected. From two to four missionaries had been maintained among the savages for two years, and over a hundred Indian children had received instruction in mission schools. A firm foothold had been secured among the Oneidas. In fact, at this period it almost seemed as though the work of the school was about to be submerged in the work of the mission.



CHAPTER II

The School Becomes a College

THE school and the missions had now reached a point in their development at which money was demanded in much larger quantities than previously had been required. From the poverty of the Colonies it was hopeless to expect adequate support from America, but the great supplies of the motherland were, as yet, for the most part untapped. The interest of influential and wealthy citizens both of England and Scotland had already been aroused, mainly through the efforts of Whitefield, but partly through the co-operation of the Scotch Society. Perhaps half the income which the school had enjoyed had come from across the sea. The effect produced by the story of the enterprise was so great, however, that more adequate financial assistance might be expected if organized efforts were made to obtain it. In 1764 Charles Jeffrey Smith wrote to Wheelock, "When the Indian War is a little abated would it not be best to send Mr. Occom with another Person home a-begging? An Indian minister in England might get a Bushel of Money for the School". The idea seemed to be an excellent one, most of the friends of the school favored it and active preparations were entered upon at once to put it into effect.

The greatest asset available to Wheelock for the success of this plan was Occom. The Indian was now forty-two years of age. He is described by the Reverend Daniel Waldo in the following terms:

He was about the medium height, had rather a round face and a bright intelligent expression, with a full share of the Indian look.

His voice was pleasant, but not very loud—sufficiently so, however, to accommodate an ordinary assemblage. His dress was entirely English. His manner in the pulpit, as I remember it, was serious and manly; and he spoke without notes and with a freedom which showed that he had a good command of his subject.

The advent of a native Indian with the garb, mannerisms, language and habits of thought of the Puritan minister must convince the most skeptical that the plan of Wheelock was a practical one. Nevertheless, the latter had certain misgivings, which he thus expressed to Whitefield:

I am concerned for Mr. Occom, he has done well and been useful as a Missionary among his Savage Brethren and what a figure he will make in London I can't tell.

Moreover, some of the good Connecticut ministers feared he would desert to the Established Church as soon as he reached the other side. Again, an acute state of friction existed between Occom and the Reverend David Jewett, minister of the parish of which the Mohegan tribe was a part, mainly based, as nearly as can be gathered, on the fact that both whites and Indians tended to abandon Jewett's services for those of his dusky rival. It was feared that this dispute, through representations of the white minister, might injure the school with the Boston Board. The controversy was thoroughly investigated by the Connecticut Correspondents, with the result that all charges were withdrawn by Jewett, although with exceedingly bad grace. Even more prejudicial to the success of Occom were certain activities of his in defence of the Mohegans, who were threatened by the loss of much of their lands to the whites; the so-called Mason controversy. Although the Indian seems to have been in the right, his action was highly unpopular in Connecticut and was likely to bring odium upon any cause with which he was associated. So strong was the feeling against him that the Connecticut Correspondents felt it inadvisable to give him credentials and he went simply as Wheelock's personal representative. Nevertheless, the advantages to be gained by his participation in the work were so

great that these objections could only be regarded by those interested in the undertaking as of minor import.

The selection of the other member of the mission was a matter of greater difficulty. It was Whitefield's advice that Wheelock himself should go. That undoubtedly would have been the best solution. His diplomatic skill unquestionably would have made the path of the mission smoother than it was, and it would have been much to the advantage of the school and college for the head of the institution to have had a personal acquaintance with his sources of supply. He felt, however, that no one else could be trusted with the management of his school; moreover that he was too old for such strenuous work. The choice then turned to Charles Jeffrey Smith, who declined on account of ill health. The Reverend John Brainerd, long a missionary to the Delaware Indians, was then thought of, but he was unable to secure a release from his engagement with the New Jersey Correspondents. After some consideration of the Reverend John Rodgers of New York, Wheelock's mind began to turn to a rather amazing choice, the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker of the sixth parish of Norwich, Connecticut.

Whitaker was a graduate of Princeton in the class of 1752. His personal appearance was exceedingly handsome, his manner ingratiating and his bearing dignified and courtly. He bore the reputation of being an excellent pulpit orator. His interests were wide, he enjoyed mixing in the political agitations of the day, and even engaged in trade, somewhat to the damage of his prestige as a clergyman. He possessed a sense of humor and was not afraid to use it, a trait which endears him to those whose duty requires them to peruse any considerable number of the letters of the New England clergy of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, he was continually the center of contention. Each of his numerous pastorates became an arena of bitter controversy, and the termination of the pastoral relation left the church divided and disorganized. As time went on, more serious charges were urged against him. Dr. Joseph Bentley of Salem, whose voluminous diary is an invaluable record of the violence of personal controversy among the clergy of his time, calls him the "infamous Whitaker" and says that he was "accused of being a frequenter of stews, of having debauched young women under pre-

tense of converting them, of fraud and lying". This has a particularly evil sound, but to one who is acquainted with the general modes of expression of the diarist it may mean merely that Bentley, personally, was not fond of Whitaker. In any case, he seems a curious choice for the mission, but one which, as the sequel will show, on the whole justified itself.

The selection was Wheelock's own. His friends in New York were much averse to it and the Connecticut Correspondents were very doubtful of its expediency. They delayed action in the hope that Charles Jeffrey Smith could be induced to go. To one correspondent Wheelock wrote:

We could find none who appeared to us more likely to serve the design than Mr. Whitaker. I am not insensible that he wants some desirable Qualifications, but he is endowed with others that are very good—and it is difficult to find a Man in whom they all meet.

Whitaker, himself, was in no doubt about the matter. He was keenly eager to undertake the task and, even before the affair was settled, set out for New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia to secure recommendations for use in England. He also suggested schemes to Wheelock by which the Correspondents might be brought to terms. In October, 1765, the matter was decided in Whitaker's favor, although it was provided that Smith was to be added to the party if he could be induced to undertake the task. But the difficulties were not yet over. Whitaker's wife became a decided obstacle to the plan, and the resulting domestic friction must have assumed serious proportions if we may judge from a letter to Wheelock written by the husband when matters began to turn his way:

I have great reason to adore Sovereign goodness that I am out of hell. O, how dreadful would it be to live eternally with such Spirits. But there is a word of grace. Mrs. W. night before last seemed to come down a little & began to contrive how affairs should be conducted when I am gone.

Difficulties also arose with the Norwich church, and all the complicated ecclesiastical machinery of the day had to be put in motion before a satisfactory solution was reached.

The agreement between Wheelock and his envoys provided that their expenses, as well as the support of their families in their absence, were to be paid from the money which they should collect. One of Whitaker's sons was to be maintained in the Charity School, as was Aaron, the oldest of Occom's boys. No other compensation was provided, although, at the end of the journey each man, by voluntary action, was given £100. They were armed with an imposing series of credentials. The greatest prominence was given to a rather lukewarm document from Sir William Johnson. Another recommendation was signed by General Gage, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, the governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and sixty-one other gentlemen of high rank in the Colonies. Governor Fitch of Connecticut was responsible for a special testimonial commending Whitaker, and the school was highly praised in a document signed by twenty-five ministers of the same colony. One recommendation could not be secured. It was hoped that the Boston Board might be willing to indorse the undertaking. The journey was to start from that city and the envoys used the period of enforced delay, while waiting for their ship, in the attempt to obtain such approval. It was soon evident that enthusiasm for the undertaking was entirely lacking on the part of the men in control of the Board. Requests for support were received with cold politeness, evasive answers were given and difficulties were put in the way of positive action. One official of the group, indeed, was frank enough. According to Whitaker, "He said it was a bad Scheem and y^t all Y^e money in England wo'd not be Sufficient to execute your Scheem." So on the 13th of December, 1765, the two men sailed for England without this particular recommendation.

Their passage was a pleasant one, lasting six weeks. On February 3, 1766, they landed at Brixham on Tor Bay, south of Exeter, and hastened at once to London, reaching that city on February 6. They were lodged for the night at the house of Denis DeBerdt, but the next day they were received by Whitefield, at whose home they remained for two weeks. A house of their own was then provided, which they retained during their stay in England. A "pleasant maid" was installed in it to care for them. Occom kept a diary dur-

ing the early part of his stay, which conveys to us an excellent impression of the effect upon the red man of the stir and bustle of the metropolis. Evidently the friends of the cause exerted themselves in all possible ways to acquaint him with the sights of the city, and his wonder at his novel surroundings, together with the heavy moralizing which they induced in him, make interesting reading. He was at once introduced to Lord Dartmouth, "who appeared like a worthy Lord indeed. Mr. Whitefield says he is a Christian Lord and an UnCommon one." The first Sunday in London was much of a shock to the simple Indian, so accustomed to the rigors of the New England Sabbath.

Last Sabbath evening saw Such Confusion as I never Dreamt of —there was some at Churches Singing & Preaching, in the Streets Some Cursing, Swaring & Damning one another, ther was hallowing, Whestling, talking, gigling, laughing & Coaches and footmen passing and repassing, Crossing and Cross Crossing and the poor Beggars Praying, Crying and Beging upon their knees.

Both Occom and Whitaker were invited to dinner almost daily by the "Religious Nobility and the best men of the City". The Indian conducted himself with dignity and decorum. He was taken to see the royal prorogation of Parliament and describes the king as "quite a Comly man—his Crown is Richly adorned with Diamonds," an observation which gives rise to moral reflections upon the superiority of a heavenly crown over that of any earthly monarch. The two envoys arrived at a fortunate time. The Stamp Act had been repealed just after their advent, and Whitaker describes the general satisfaction of London at the outcome, and the good feeling toward the colonists which followed, as a happy omen for the success of their cause. Occom visited Westminster Abbey, he saw in the Tower "the King's Lions, Tiggers Wolf and Leopards, the King's guns and the muniments of antient Kings on Horse Back and their Soldiers on foot with their Antient Armour of Brass and Tin"; at Saint James he looked upon "the nobility in their shining robes" on the occasion of the Queen's birthday. Whitaker and Occom were received by the Archbishops both of Canterbury and York, who ex-

pressed much interest in their missions. Soon after, the expected attempt was made to deflect Occom from his Presbyterian affiliations and to induce him to accept Episcopal orders. He declined the offer with dignity, modestly telling the clergyman who pressed it, "I had no such view when I came from Home and added I had been Ordained Six Years in a Dissenting Way." The proposal was made to secure for Occom an invitation to preach before the king, but there is no evidence that the attempt ever really succeeded.

These diversions in no way interfered with the main purpose of the mission. On February 16 Occom made his debut by preaching in the great tabernacle erected to accommodate Whitefield's congregation. His success seems to have been instantaneous. His modest demeanor, his ease in the pulpit, his complete assumption of the role of the dissenting divine, the story which he had to tell, coupled with the fact that he was obviously an Indian, produced an effect which was irresistible. The dissenting ministers vied with one another in pressing him to occupy their pulpits, and he never lacked for an audience on all occasions at which preaching services were held. He became, for the moment, a public character in London, rising even to the height of being burlesqued on the stage. "This evening," he wrote, "I heard the Stage Players had been Mimicking Me in their Play lately—I never thought I shou'd come to that Honour." In April a pause was set to his activities by inoculation for smallpox, but he soon recovered and was as busy as ever. Nor does Whitaker seem to have been less effective, although in a different way. His pulpit appearances were constant, and he was successful in his appeals, although he lacked the natural advantages of the redskin. He was the manager of the enterprise, and was indefatigable in utilizing every method of pushing it on. In particular, he busied himself with private interviews with people of influence and wealth, and his personal charm and ingratiating manner made his appeal highly effective. By this combination of efforts the undertaking became at once financially successful to an extent which must far have exceeded the most optimistic dreams of its supporters. The appeal, nevertheless, was to a fairly limited class. The hierarchy of the Church of England, after a few vague promises of assistance, came to the conclusion that they were not interested

in Indian conversion unless the control of the process rested with them, and so gave no help whatever. It is to be remembered, however, that Whitefield never severed his connection with the English church, and that many of his followers remained in that fold. The dissenters, in general, were sympathetic, although jealousies and divisions among them were a cause of embarrassment.

The course of the mission could hardly have been so smooth without careful preparation for it on the part of interested Englishmen. That interest was, of course, aroused by Whitefield, to whom the success of the enterprise was primarily due, but the actual conduct of its affairs was largely directed by his followers, among whom four deserve especial mention. The most important, from the point of view of influence, was William, second Earl of Dartmouth, (1731-1801). This young and opulent nobleman had followed a course not usual to those of his social class. Under the influence of the Countess of Huntington he had become interested in the Methodist movement and was finally reckoned as a devoted follower of Whitefield. Such eccentric behavior was beyond the understanding of his peers, who contemptuously alluded to him as the "psalm singer." He was not without friends, however. Perhaps the most devoted of them was George III, who avowed "how very dear he will always be to my heart" and said, when he was driven from office, "What days has it Pleased the Almighty to Place me in when Lord Dartmouth can be a man removed but by his own request." Cowper alluded to him as "one who wears the coronet and prays." He was President of the Board of Trade from 1765 to 1766. Lord North was his kinsman, and under the administration of that nobleman he was Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1772 to 1775 and Lord Privy Seal from 1775 to 1782. It was through the influence of Lord Dartmouth that a donation of £200 was received from the king; a gift not only financially important, but which at once placed the enterprise under the most favorable auspices. Closer in his personal relations to Wheelock was John Thornton of Clapham, (1720-1790), a London merchant, who inherited a large property and who increased it by successful business dealings. He lived very simply, but his gifts for charitable purposes were estimated to amount to £3000 annually. Not only was he liberal in donations of money, but his sympathetic

interest and discriminating advice made participation by him in any charitable enterprise important from other than merely the financial point of view. It is difficult to see how Wheelock could have carried the weight under which he labored in his later years without Thornton's help. Others prominent in the work were Samuel Savage, about whom we know very little, but who was a constant correspondent of Wheelock's, and Robert Keen, a woolen draper, who became secretary of the group and who devoted endless time to the necessary correspondence. In 1769 he wrote Wheelock that of the three years since Whitaker's arrival he had put in at least one on the work of the trust. These persons, and others who were interested in the undertaking, were men of substance, of authority and of unblemished personal integrity, and their names gave high prestige to the enterprise. It was fortunate for Wheelock that their interest was so fully aroused. In addition, John Smith, Wheelock's Boston friend, was in London at this time, and proved of great assistance.

At first, it was thought best to avoid formal incorporation or the establishment of a trust. Conservative men in England at this time were suspicious of such forms of organization as leading to "jobbs", and all Whitaker's London advisers were strongly averse to such a course. It was felt, moreover, that the founder of the school should be unhampered by responsibility to a foreign board. In place of a definite organization, it was agreed that those interested in the scheme should meet weekly for consultation and advice, and that they should serve as a Committee of Correspondence to receive donations and account for expenditure of the funds thus obtained. The sequel will show that this plan was entirely impracticable.

The work progressed successfully enough, but it was not without its periods of difficulty. It became apparent at once that all reference in London to connection of the mission with the Scotch Society must be suppressed. Wheelock's English friends would have nothing to do with the collection of money upon which that Society could, by any chance, lay its hands. As Whitaker's commission was issued by the Connecticut Correspondents of that Society, the necessary suppression of that document left him without any authorization at all, except the personal one of Wheelock. The matter was deemed

so important that Whitaker wrote in great haste to his patron, warning him that in his letters no mention should be made of the Scotch organization. The result was to show that this deviation from the original plan was highly advantageous to the cause. A more important difficulty was the increasing prevalence of rumors derogatory to the mission which seemed to emanate from Boston. When these rumors were traced to their source, they were found to originate from a letter sent in October, 1765, by Andrew Oliver, Secretary of the Boston Board, to Mr. Jasper Mauduit, a governor of the parent organization in London. This communication announced the approaching departure of the envoys and purported to tell all about them and their mission. After much difficulty, Whitaker was able to secure the privilege of having the letter read to him, but was denied permission to copy it. Most of the information in it was accurate, but the tone was one of supercilious superiority, and it contained one highly misleading statement, namely, that Wheelock had carried Occom through New England, representing him to be a Mohawk, educated, civilized and Christianized in a short space of time, and thereby a shining example of the efficacy of the school. In reality, the letter went on to say, Occom was a Mohegan, exposed from birth to the Christian influences furnished by their own Board, and whose admirable qualities were, thus, by inference, to be credited to their efforts. So much of this assertion was untrue that disproof of it was easy, but it caused great irritation to Whitaker and especially to Occom, and some perturbation to Wheelock when he learned of it. As it apparently was having no effect in diminishing the flow of contributions, it was thought best to ignore it, to the disappointment of Whitaker who saw wasted thereby an excellent opportunity for a quarrel. The importance of the incident consists merely in the evidence that it gives of the antagonism of the Boston Board to Wheelock's enterprise, which from now on was constantly to be reckoned with.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to discuss briefly the differences between these agencies devoted to the same pious ends. It is difficult to appraise the matter fairly. Undoubtedly the roots of the misunderstanding went back to the antagonism aroused by Wheelock at the time of the Great Awakening. Theological differences

were very serious matters in those days, and there is no doubt that an influential portion of the Boston clergy honestly regarded the Lebanon minister with deep distrust. In the early days, when his school was weak, they could afford to look upon him with a patronizing tolerance and even to contribute toward his work; now that the institution promised to be important, they were reluctant to believe that so much should be accomplished by one whom they held in such low esteem. Moreover, his very success might be construed as a reflection on the efficiency of their own work. An attitude of antagonism was perhaps natural, but it is fair to say that the Boston group acted with what seems to be a petty jealousy, veiled in arrogance. Hitherto the tone of Wheelock had been conciliatory enough, but now a note of exasperation appeared in his letters, which finally rose to a violence devoid of dignity. At the end, neither of the contending parties showed much of the spirit of the Master they were supposed to serve.

No doubt private letters came from America which were even less restrained than the official communication discussed above. As a result, sharp antagonism to the mission was awakened in some quarters in England. Whitaker encountered such difficulties as the charge, made by a Bristol clergyman, of "lying and forgery, that he had no trust for the money collected and that he wondered people should give money to such men." The Established Church had taken a definite stand. Most of their prelates were more reserved in their comments, but their ideas were perhaps definitely expressed by Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester. Of an interview with him Whitaker wrote:

He told me that we were Presbyterians—& that I went about inflaming the people & making division & collecting money without any authority & was liable to be taken up & many other unmannerly & ill natured things he said & purely because you etc. are dissenters he wo'd do nothing, tho' the wretch pillaged my Narrative to fill up his sermon, which I told him of yet he would not give a penny nor ask me to sit down.

Despite these obstacles, the work continued with success. When the collections in London began to slacken, Whitaker and Occom set

out, in August, 1766, for the west of England. Bristol was their principal destination, but they made long stops at Exeter and Bath, and so many one-day visits to villages and hamlets that one wonders that they were physically equal to the strain. One of their encounters on this journey was significant; at Bath they secured a subscription of £21 from young John Wentworth, newly appointed Governor of New Hampshire, concerning whom we shall in the future hear so much. The method of the envoys was dependent upon carefully planned introductions, distribution of copies of the 1766 *Narrative*, preaching in friendly churches, collections at the church door, and solicitation of subscriptions by personal interviews. The results in the provinces were equally satisfactory to those in London. Whitaker and Occom returned to the capital in December, after a fruitful journey of four months.

Before this, however, one of the obstacles to satisfactory collections had been removed. The objection to the mission urged most often and most forcibly was that the envoys represented merely a private individual, with no assurance that the money would eventually be spent for the purpose for which it was given. The information of a trust would do away with that difficulty, and, moreover, as a continuing institution it would be in a position to receive legacies and other gifts which might be expected in the future. The necessity of such an organization finally became so clear that the managing group in London yielded to the force of circumstances. A board of trustees was established, consisting of Lord Dartmouth, president, John Thornton, treasurer, Sir Charles Hotham, Bart, Samuel Roffey, Charles Hardy, Daniel West, Samuel Savage, Josiah Robarts, and Robert Keen, secretary. It was a representative organization, the intention being to include in the group members from each of the larger Protestant denominations. Hotham soon died and was succeeded by Baron Smythe, of the Court of Exchequer. In November Whitaker turned over to this board the power of attorney which he held from Wheelock and from them, in turn, received a commission under which he was henceforth to act.

The trustees, however, felt it necessary to base their activity on an authorization more definite than Whitaker's power of attorney. They communicated with Wheelock, asking him to furnish them

with a deed of trust. This request caused him much embarrassment. He was entirely dependent upon the new trustees for financial support of his school; at the same time he was afraid that the control of the institution might pass completely into their hands, an outcome which would have done much to ruin the enterprise. If that result ensued, the danger existed that his supporters in America would abandon the school at once. Moreover, in the event of foreign control, there would be little hope of securing from colonial sources the grants of land upon which he had set his mind, and the chance existed (although this seems to have affected Wheelock less than it did most of his friends) of the institution coming under Episcopal domination. It was a time for diplomacy, and Wheelock showed his skill in that art to its fullest extent. In all his relations with the English trustees, extending over the next ten years and bristling with dangerous points of controversy, he always obtained the ends which he sought, and he did so without in any way lessening their confidence in his integrity or his devotion to the cause, although, at times, they doubted his judgment. His letters were models of tact, suavely worded, accommodating in non-essentials, but rock-like in their firmness when matters which he deemed fundamental were in question; a firmness the effect of which was not diminished by the courtesy of his language nor by the logic of his arguments. At first, in response to their request, he sent his personal power of attorney instead of a deed of trust. Keen, the secretary of the Board, replied that this arrangement was not satisfactory, and then set forth, in detail, exactly what they required. According to their opinion the English Trust, a self-perpetuating body, should have the power of honoring or refusing Wheelock's drafts as its members saw fit. They stipulated, moreover, that Wheelock's successor should be chosen by them, and they intimated that by will all the property of the school should be left to them, so that their control over the institution eventually would be complete. These terms were utterly inadmissible. All Wheelock's American friends would have been alienated by such an arrangement, and there was no possibility of managing the enterprise successfully with the controlling power located three thousand miles away. Whitaker advised his patron, however, to yield as far as he could and then to

set himself to the task of getting the money out of English hands as rapidly as possible. Savage, one of the trustees, gave council which was not essentially different. Wheelock took time to consider the matter from all points of view, with the aid of the best legal advice. No less than ten drafts of the deed were drawn before a satisfactory one was evolved. The document, in its final form, set up *two* sets of trustees, one in England and one in America. The first of these boards was to have control of the money collected in England, was empowered to receive further funds from that source and to pass upon their expenditure. Its power of dishonoring Wheelock's drafts was limited, however, to cases in which notice of the action was given in advance. The American Trust (chosen from among Wheelock's ministerial friends) was to have custody of property obtained in America and responsibility for the actual management of school and missions. Wheelock was empowered by the deed to select his own successor, subject to the ratification of the English Trust. Future leaders of the school were to be nominated alternately by each of the two Trusts, the other board having the power of veto. It took a long time to make these arrangements and it was not until May 31, 1768, that the deed was finally transmitted to England, with a diplomatic letter explaining the provisions of the arrangement and the reason for their adoption. The deed was accepted by the English trustees without comment or objection.

Whitaker and Occom remained in London until March, 1767, when they set out on an extensive journey through western England and into Scotland. Times had become hard and subscriptions were collected with greater difficulty than before, but the journey was, nevertheless, a fruitful one. In the northern country the envoys acted under the auspices of the Scotch Society, under whose recommendation Whitaker had originally set out, and the officers of that institution and of the Scotch church seem to have done all in their power to make the mission successful. The English Trust did not approve of this change of base and in June peremptorily ordered Whitaker and Occom to return to England, on the ground that money collected in Great Britain should not be subject to the direction of two distinct authorities. Instead of obeying, Whitaker sent a letter, not now preserved, which evidently appeased the English

trustees, for Keen replied with a cancellation of their previous order. It seems, however, that the English group thought that the Scotch collections were to be turned over to them, a notion quite contrary to fact, as Wheelock found to his cost in the years to come. While they were in Scotland, machinery was set in motion to secure both for Wheelock and for Whitaker the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. The University of Edinburgh was willing to honor the head of the school, but objected to conferring degrees upon two representatives of the institution. Whitaker was referred to St. Andrews, which was ready to give him the coveted distinction. Wheelock evidently thought that the honor was well worth the contribution of £10 (given, in the form of books, to the University library) then obligatory from recipients of such degrees. He was justifiably proud of the distinction and was never afterwards referred to by any of his followers except as "The Doctor." Late in July Whitaker and Occom visited the north of Ireland. They arrived, however, too late for the meeting of the Presbyterian synod, at which they hoped for recognition and support, and found the field occupied by a person named Edwards who was collecting money for a Baptist college in Rhode Island (subsequently Brown University). As a result, they judged the time inopportune for pressing their own claims.

In the meantime an incident had occurred which greatly imperiled the good relations of Wheelock with his English friends. Before the departure of the mission, apparently some discussion had arisen among the members of the Connecticut Board of Correspondents concerning the best way by which to remit whatever funds might be secured. One of the members of the board, the Reverend Nathaniel Eells of Stonington, suggested that remittances should be made in the form of goods, thereby gaining for the school not only the funds themselves, but the profits which might be expected from such a business transaction. No definite action was taken, and Wheelock, having no taste for business, was content to leave the matter in other hands. Upon his departure for the north of England, Whitaker had left with Keen authority to open his letters so that pressing matters might receive immediate attention. Among the communica-

tions thus opened was an amazing series of letters from Eells. In one of them the latter

. . . advises that goods be bought, shipped to Mr. Joshua Lathrop & he will allow $\frac{1}{2}$ the profit; lay the plan as particular as you please depend upon it Mr. W. & I shall joy'n in it—the larger the remittances are the better. Dear Sir pursue our original agreement & conduct the plan prudently, your family shall ever feel the benefit of it & my son may be brought into business with his Brother Lathrop to my satisfaction & Comfort . . . our interest in this affair i.e. thine and mine shall be inseperable; goods are very scarce in the Colony & likely to sell upon a high advance. If you send £3000 this fall and as much next spring they will sell speedily. By this means I hope to bring my Son Edward into Trade with his Brother Lathrop . . . this you may depend upon will be to the Emolument of your family and more so on account of what goods shall be purchased by moneys given to you for use of the School and if things turn our agreeable to expectation you may depend on my care to your profit to your full satisfaction . . . the truth is Mr. Wheelock though he will talk will not write in an affair of trade but chuses to refer to our determination.

It is not strange that the trustees were upset by this communication. As a result of it, they refused to honor a draft just received from Wheelock (an action which threw him into extreme financial embarrassment), they sternly demanded from Whitaker an accounting for the drafts which they had already paid, and to Wheelock they expressed in vigorous terms their alarm at these clandestine dealings,

. . . which, had we been apprised of, we should have declined accepting the Trust & we consider it in such an iniquitous light that if it is not immediately put a stop to we shall decline acting further as Trustees for your school which we desire therefore you would see immediately done & then we shall rejoice to give you all the assistance we can bring.

Whitaker was evidently able to demonstrate to the Trust that the drafts already paid had not been used for speculative purposes.

Wheelock, when in the course of time a reply from him was received, admitted that there had been an idea of receiving remittances in the form of goods, that he, himself, was not a man of business and had taken no part in the affair, that all the drafts had been received and, except for £100 now in Eells' hands, had been used for legitimate purposes of the school, that since the formation of the trust no one had any longer the idea of using the funds for trade, and that both Eells and Whitaker were men whose reputations in Connecticut for probity and honor were beyond reproach. Eells' defense was rather lame. He reiterated his opinion that shipment of the proceeds of the mission in the form of goods was a method highly advantageous to the cause. He maintained that his letters contained references to private business between him and Whitaker, having nothing to do with school funds, and thus conveyed misleading impressions. His "care of Whitaker's interest" was explained as a question of the latter's relation to his Norwich parish. "Placing his son" was a method of promoting the interests of the school. If he found a profitable business opening, the boy, being under his father's influence, could be relied upon to use that position to further the affairs of the school with a smaller demand for profit than the ordinary man of business would require. The trustees were not favorably impressed by this explanation. However, as no harm had yet been done, they did not pursue the matter further. Keen wrote to Whitaker that "it has caused you a good deal of vexation but all is finished & not to be mentioned or thought of more."

It is evident that Eells was a clerical blunderer with an itch for business and excellent intentions toward the school, who was unable to see why the advantage of that institution and of his own family should not be promoted simultaneously. Whitaker's essential innocence of evil intent is apparent from the fact that he left his correspondence to be opened by the Trustees, although his ethical sense was evidently not of the keenest variety. By their action, however, both these men lost the confidence of the trustees, who insisted that henceforth neither of them should have a share in the administration of the school. Thus Whitaker was deprived of any chance of becoming Wheelock's successor, a position to which he had been appointed by the first will of the latter. The confidence

of the trustees in the integrity of Wheelock himself remained unshaken.

The two envoys made their way back to London through the eastern counties of England in the autumn of 1767. At the end, apparently they wore on each other's nerves and Occom, on the plea of illness, abandoned the journey and came to the capital in December, in advance of the time called for by their schedule. They had now been away from home for nearly two years, their families were impatient at their long absence, and the men themselves were ready to return. In the spring of 1768 they set sail for home, apparently on different ships, and arrived in America in May.

Early in the mission Whitaker had set for himself a goal of £100 each week, a sum which was more than attained. The amount raised in England was £9497, sterling, while Scotland contributed £2529, making a total of £12026. The expenses amounted to about £500. Also to be deducted from the gross returns were the money expended for the support of the families of the envoys and a gratuity of £100 awarded to each. But the net receipts were over £11,000, perhaps a greater sum than was secured by any other American educational institution in Great Britain in pre-revolutionary days. The Narrative of 1769 gives complete details of the collections in England, though those in Scotland are not thus set forth. The largest gift was one of £200 from the king. Of the trustees, Savage and Thornton each gave £100, Dartmouth, Hotham and Roffey, £50, Hardy, Keen, and West, £25 and Smythe £6.6. The only other large gift was £100 from Isaac Hollis, who was also a benefactor of Harvard. The nobility was poorly represented. Aside from the subscription of Lord Dartmouth, the Duke of Bolton gave 3 guineas, the Earl of Shaftsbury, 30 guineas, and the Marchioness of Rockingham, £10. The Bishop of Derry gave 10 guineas, and Thomas and Richard Penn, proprietors of Pennsylvania, £50. From Dr. Smith, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, came 10/6, while Merton College, Oxford, was more generous with a donation of 5 guineas. The Corporations of Hull and of Newcastle-on-Tyne each gave 20 guineas. But most of the donations were small in amount and from persons unknown to fame. The total number of individual subscribers was 2169, while, in addition, collections were received in 305 churches.

The number of communities in which contributions were obtained was 216.

It has been the tendency of those who have written of the English mission to minimize the value of Whitaker's services to it. It is true that his peculiar characteristics were the cause of friction and that he accumulated abroad, as he did wherever he went, numerous enemies. It is true, also, that a number of letters from those whom he encountered in England refer to him in tones of sharp criticism. They may be matched, however, by many written in terms of highest praise. The results, however, speak for themselves. As manager of the affair, his untiring energy, his pertinacity, his devotion to the cause must have contributed highly to its success. Perhaps no man could have done more; it is doubtful if many could have done as much. Throughout Wheelock's life he remained the friend of the school and was frequently called, at critical times, to its assistance. The contribution of Occom to the work is obvious enough. He was the factor really indispensable to the success of the enterprise. His connection with Wheelock, however, terminated at this point. Disputes arose upon his return in regard to the expenses of his family, which Wheelock charged him with collecting both at home and from the Trust. Moreover, he had changed as a result of his experience abroad, and was now less subject to control than he had previously been. Wheelock wished him to return as a missionary to the Six Nations and Occom, while he did not definitely decline to serve, put obstacles in the way of the plan. He evidently preferred to act as an itinerant preacher to the New England Indians. He was thus left without means of support, for he had broken with the Boston Board, which was in charge of the New England field, and Wheelock would not trench upon its preserves. He fell into great poverty and occasional intemperance. His English friends were much concerned about him. Thornton made repeated contributions for his support and finally the English Trust, without consulting Wheelock, voted him an annuity of £50, a resource which did not last long owing to exhaustion of the fund. In 1772 he was called upon to preach a sermon on the occasion of the execution of an Indian named Moses Paul, who had, while drunk, killed one of his compeers, a crime for which he was condemned to die. As a powerful

temperance tract it was deemed worthy of publication and is said to have run through nineteen editions. Occom never seems to have visited Hanover. Just before the Revolution he formed the plan of migrating with a selected group of Indians from various New England tribes to the country of the Oneidas, a tribe from which he had succeeded in obtaining a grant of land; there to live on their own soil, undisturbed by the proximity of the whites. David Fowler, Jacob Fowler and Joseph Johnson, also products of Wheelock's school, were associated with him in the enterprise. The war interrupted the movement, but it was successfully carried out after hostilities were over. The town of Brothertown was founded by the emigrants and in that vicinity Occom ended his career, a leader in successfully maintaining Indian rights against white aggression. He died in 1792.

While these events were taking place in England, what were the activities of Wheelock on this side of the water? The school continued its usual course. In 1766 a pupil of distinguished ancestry came to it; no less a person than one of Sir William Johnson's numerous natural sons by his Indian mistress, Mary Brant, sister of Joseph. The boy was haughty and difficult to control, however, and soon, with his father's consent, was sent home. Recruits began to come from the Oneida tribe through the influence of the mission established at that point. White boys were taken upon the foundation in increasing numbers; among them, in 1766, Levi Frisbie, of Branford, Connecticut, and in 1767 Sylvanus Ripley, of Halifax, Massachusetts, who later are to play important parts in this story. In December, 1767, five of Wheelock's English pupils were being maintained at Yale, viz. Johnson, McClure, Avery, Frisbie and Mather. Arrangements had been made with that institution whereby one-half the tuition charge was waived, in view of the fact that the boys were supported by charity. The finances of the school were more prosperous owing to the influx of English funds, upon which Wheelock began to draw as soon as any collections were made. Both Boston grants, however, were discontinued, and at one time the refusal of a bill in London temporarily plunged Wheelock into serious financial difficulties. Fortunately this bill was eventually honored and matters ran smoothly once more. Despite his increased

resources, he was beginning to feel the load upon him. He wrote thus to Keen:

You will consider that I am Wholly alone in the Whole affair. Whatever concerns the Missionaries, School Masters in Y^e Wilderness—the Collegians—the Male and female Schools at Home—all lie upon me—and besides all this I cant yet get my people willing that I should be discharged from my care of them—besides the Business of my Farm upon which I chiefly depend, and God, for the Support of my Family.

It was perhaps well that he did not know that his burdens would increase rather than lighten as old age came on. In 1768 the number of his Indian students began to decline and in January, 1769, it suffered an abrupt drop when the father of one of his Oneida boys came to Lebanon, in the dead of winter, and took home all the representatives of that tribe, six in number, leaving but three Indians in the school. The reasons given by the father for this step could only be regarded as frivolous. It was a hard blow to Wheelock, particularly as a religious revival was under way, with excellent prospects of conversions among the aborigines. Later he regarded it as a dispensation of Providence, in view of his approaching removal to Hanover. It really marked a stage of the disappearance of his influence with the Six Nations.

In the previous chapter the story of the missions was carried through the year 1766. Chamberlain resigned early in 1767, leaving Kirkland as Wheelock's only regular representative among the Six Nations. The success of that missionary with the Oneidas was even greater than with the Senecas. He was even able to make a compact with the chiefs of the village whereby he was vested with authority to smash any liquor-containing receptacles which should be found within the domain of the tribe. It is true that, at times, when strange Indians appeared as conveyers of spirits, an attempt to carry out this process resulted in contention and the missionary was compelled to tread warily until the affair blew over. In general, however, his influence with the savages was sufficiently potent to make his presence among them highly effective for good. Wheelock regarded him as his greatest asset and made the most of his success to

his English friends. He wrote to Keen, "He is doing more for the cause of Christ than perhaps some Scores of Clergymen who live at ease and have their £100 sterling per annum." In addition, five Indian schoolmasters were still in the field, but it was becoming evident that their reliability was open to serious question. During 1767 Wheelock limited his activities to the Oneida mission, not only because he could find no one willing to take up the task of missionary work, despite all his endeavors, but even more because the Church of England was promising to send eight missionaries and eight schoolmasters to the Six Nations. He was content, for the time, to sit back and watch their efforts, probably convinced that suitable candidates of that denomination could not be found (which proved to be the case) and unwilling, by competitive efforts, to antagonize Sir William Johnson, who might be expected to favor the activities of his own church. To do Wheelock justice, moreover, he was, for the times, singularly free from denominational jealousy, and placidly unmoved by his ministerial colleagues who put themselves into a fret lest some measure of Episcopal influence should insinuate itself into the missionary field. His attitude is fairly represented by the following letter to President Johnson of King's College (afterwards Columbia):

I think intirely with you as to the necessity of concealing from the Pagans all differing Sentiments in matters of Religion among ourselves; and that the contrary would be a most fatal Stumbling Block in the way of those poor blind Creatures, and accordingly never any of my School have yet heard me Speak a Word of any differences excepting Papists. When I have Spoken to any of the Six Nations (as I have sometimes had occasion) of the Labours of Dr. Berkeley & Mr. Oglevie I have always Spoken of them (and that too without any Dissimulation) with the greatest Approbation & Esteem. When they have mentioned Some Differences as to forms and modes I have told them we are all agreed they are not Essential—that those Gentlemen were my Brethren, faithful Ministers of Christ, and taught them the Same Way of Life truly as we were teaching them.

In October, 1767, the best of the Indian schoolmasters, David Fowler, wearied with life in the Indian country, returned from Oneida to take charge of a school near his home on Long Island. He thus passed from Wheelock's control. Phineas Dodge, a white lad, was sent to take his place. Another of his Indian proteges, Joseph Johnson, from whom much was expected, was proving unsatisfactory, and Kirkland appealed to Wheelock to send him no more Indian schoolmasters. In February, 1768, having made a journey of three hundred miles on foot in seven days, Johnson appeared in Lebanon with alarming news. Kirkland was so ill that there was little expectation of his recovery, and Dodge, weighed down by responsibility, was appealing for help. Wheelock at once dispatched his son, Ralph, his pupil, Allyn Mather, and a physician, Dr. Huntington, to the rescue. The medical man was taken ill on the way and was obliged to return, but the others went on. In the latter part of March they reached Oneida and found Kirkland somewhat better; so much recovered, in fact, that on the next day he and Dodge set out for New England, leaving Ralph, much to his perturbation, surrounded by Indians and with no experienced white companion.

Ralph Wheelock played an important part in the events of the period and did much to accentuate the difficulties which were to ensue. As a boy he showed much mental promise, but even then was unfortunately afflicted with epilepsy. Although much hindered by his infirmity, he managed to make his way through college, attending first Princeton and then Yale, and being graduated from the latter institution in 1765. His career was a pathetic one. Frequently incapacitated by ill-health for long periods, his letters to his father show an intense but continually disappointed desire to contribute material assistance to the work in which the older man was so absorbed. At the time in question, however, Ralph was capable of considerable activity. He was used by his father to care for the details of school management, and on a number of occasions was sent on missions to the Indian country and elsewhere. His natural disposition, modified for the worse, perhaps, by his physical infirmities, did not fit him for the responsibilities with which he was entrusted. He was harsh and overbearing in his treatment of the Indian students, while among the wild tribes his dictatorial

manner was such as to arouse sharp antagonism. Desirous of eventually succeeding to his father's position, he was in the habit of stressing his authority as heir-apparent, nor could he conceal his jealousy of any whom he felt might be his rivals. His father, with a parent's partiality, seemed oblivious to these defects, and in defense of his son was led into untenable positions and unnecessary controversy. After removal of the school to Hanover, Ralph's physical condition became such as to make it impossible for him to take any part in its affairs, and the latter years of his long life were spent in mental darkness.

Left in Oneida without responsible guidance, Ralph set himself to the task of consolidating the position which Kirkland had gained, and even of extending the scope of the work by a visit to the neighboring tribe, the Onondagas. Upon his return to Lebanon he submitted a report concerning the situation and its possibilities, which offered great encouragement to the older man. The information, as a matter of fact, was entirely inaccurate. The tension between Wheelock and Kirkland, soon to become acute, apparently began at this point. The physical condition of the missionary made it evident that he must remain in New England for the summer, and Wheelock began frantically to search for a substitute. He was utterly unable to find any person suitable for the mission and was compelled to send, on temporary appointment, one of his charity students, Aaron Kinne. The latter soon returned, however, because of ill health and failure to obtain an interpreter. To add to the difficulty, at about this time the Indian schoolmaster at Oneida, Joseph Johnson, returned under disgraceful circumstances which indicated that he was lost to the cause. We next hear of him engaged in a long ocean voyage as a common sailor. His subsequent recovery belongs to a later part of this story. As a last resort, another charity student, David Avery, was sent to Oneida as a schoolmaster, but the promising mission was unprovided with a really responsible director for the greater part of the year.

In the fall of 1768 news came to Wheelock of an Indian Congress called by Sir William Johnson to meet at Fort Stanwix; the largest gathering of the kind yet held on the American continent. The purpose of the conference was to set up a fixed and permanent

boundary between the lands of the Indians and those of the whites. Sir William had formed a definite idea of the position of a line which should be fair to both parties and he believed, if no untoward event should arise, that an agreement could be reached which would be satisfactory to all. Not only were multitudes of Indians in attendance, but the official representatives of the colonies of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey, as well as many private individuals, who had provided themselves with money and bales of goods as an inducement to the Indians to sell their lands. Only Connecticut, which had some claim on portions of the territory in question, was unrepresented, much to the satisfaction of her rival colonies. It was of the highest importance to Wheelock that the interest of his school should receive due attention at this meeting. He exerted himself diligently to obtain a proper agent, pressing the mission especially upon Charles Jeffrey Smith. The outcome, however, was that he had to be content with what he could get, and the representative whom he secured was unsatisfactory enough. He was the Reverend Jacob Johnson, of Groton, a curious person of mystical habits of mind, who had strong ideas concerning right and wrong but little conception of the arts of diplomacy. The envoy was met at Fort Stanwix by Avery, and the two were received by Sir William Johnson with a courtesy that was tempered by some degree of coldness. Jacob Johnson began his diplomatic career by giving unnecessary offense to the gentlemen present at a large dinner by an ill-advised and unmannerly response to the toast to the king. Almost at once he became a subject of ridicule by his personal peculiarities and his extravagances of speech. Having thus attracted the attention of everyone to himself, he set about the self-appointed task of circulating among the Indians with the advice that they should not yield an inch in the matter of ceding their lands. Not content with this, he presented a formal memorial to the Commissioners, asking that no more Indian land should be taken over. Evidently he had come to the Congress imbued with the idea that the red men were to be cheated; a point of view that was, perhaps, not unreasonable in the light of the usual practice in conferences of this kind. But it happened that Sir William Johnson was eminently fair in his dealings with the savages, and as regardful of their

interests as of those of his own race. The arrangement which he had in mind he considered important in settling questions which had long been acute, a settlement which would be highly advantageous to the tribes. He had gone to much trouble properly to prepare the way. This arrangement Jacob Johnson set himself to wreck. A man of more weight might have gone far toward doing it, but the Connecticut minister was so insignificant that the only result of his efforts was to bring odium upon the school whose agent he was. This unfortunate impression was accentuated by the fact that he managed so to bungle matters as to make it appear that Wheelock was desirous of securing from the Indians some of the lands which he was advising them not to give to others. Avery, finding out how matters were going, informed Wheelock of the difficulty and the latter, in hot haste, despatched a second envoy, the Reverend Ebenezer Cleveland, to repair the damage. The latter arrived too late to be of service, but in time to be scared nearly into fits by the orgy among the savages which marked the close of the Congress. Sir William Johnson was much irritated. He wrote to General Gage:

To add to all this two New England missionaries came up, one of whom was strongly recommended to me by Dr. Wheelock of Connecticut and did all in their power to prevent the Oneidas—from agreeing to any Line that might be deemed Reasonable. They had even the face in opposition to his Majesty's Commands & the desires of the Colonies to Memorial me Praying that the Ind^s might not be allowed to give up far to the North or West but to reserve it for the Purposes of Religion—and publicly declared to sev^l Gentlemen there that they had taken infinite pains with Ind^s to obstruct the Line & would Continue to do so. The New Englanders have had Missionaries for some time among the Oneidas and I was not ignorant that their old pretentions to the Susquehanna Lands was their Real, tho' Religion was their assumed object, but knowing that any steps I could take with these Mission^s would from the Ind^s conceptions be deemed violent I treated them with silent contempt. Tho' I think you should know these Circumstances & the Government & Public in Gen^l should see in what manner their favors &

Indulgences are made use of by this Gentry of which I co^d give many Instances being possessed of their secret instructions & many other very extraordinary papers.

A large part of this statement was unfair, but, as a whole, it represented Sir William's honest opinion of the issue. At first, Wheelock thought the fiasco not to be of serious importance. He wrote Jacob Johnson concerning it, "I ha'n't so much concern about it as to spend time to hear it, if you were here." But in the course of time communications began to come to him from England, including letters from Lord Dartmouth and Keen, describing the disrepute into which the institution had fallen in governmental circles in the motherland as a result of representations sent home by colonial officials. Much alarmed, Wheelock endeavored to remove the bad impression. In a letter to Sir William he disavowed all responsibility for the "wild, distracted, stupid, headlong conduct" of his envoy, and asserted that he gave him no instructions except those having to do with the school. No direct reply was received, but through a friend, who interviewed Sir William, he learned that the latter did not charge to Wheelock the responsibility for his envoy's erratic behavior. He did believe, however, that there was a design to obtain Indian land for the school. Moreover, he took advantage of the opportunity to give his opinion of Wheelock's efforts. He had a low opinion of the missionaries, and thought that they did no service, that the Indians were not bettered by them, in fact, as a result of their efforts, their charges became lazier than ever. The boys who had been trained in the school were little improved in learning or in morality, nor was it possible to make farmers out of them because they were too lazy and violent. With this candid and unpalatable avowal came the end of Sir William Johnson's co-operation and with that, the end of much hope of success of educational and missionary efforts among the Six Nations.

Kirkland returned to Oneida in October, 1768. His health was still unsatisfactory and he had been instructed to come back to New England after a short stay in the Indian country, but he remained with his charge through the winter. For a time Jacob Johnson was with him. With this second sojourn of Kirkland among the Oneidas

began a state of tension between him and Wheelock, which increased until it became a feeling of acute dissatisfaction and finally culminated in an entire break in their official relations. Much has been written concerning the controversy, into the details of which we shall not venture. In general, the weight of blame has been placed upon Wheelock, but it does not seem clear that it should not be more evenly distributed. It is true that Wheelock was responsible for the dissatisfaction which developed as a result of his paternalistic ideas of government. That conception was to bring to him trouble in the college, it was to cause even more to his son, John, but it was his honest conception of the way in which an educational institution should be managed. Kirkland had been taken by him when a boy in abject poverty. Through subscriptions, he had provided the means for his education and had assumed responsibility for his maintenance; in return he demanded the filial obedience which an eighteenth century father required of his son. It was not to be expected that a mature man, conscious of work well and independently done, should remain for any long period acquiescent to such requirements; obviously he would seek independence and initiative of his own. It is usually said that Kirkland did not receive proper support. That hardly seems to have been the case. Wheelock's letters to him are full of plans for his maintenance, arrangements for the transfer of money (not a simple matter in those days), suggestions for a comfortable house and other forms of material aid. After the English collections began to come in, plenty of money was at hand and Wheelock was never reluctant to use it. The real difficulty seems to have been that the money, however liberally given, was in the nature of a dole; that Kirkland was dependent on whatever Wheelock should allow him, and had no fixed income which he could call his own. When the English Trust, of its own initiative, settled upon him £100 a year, Wheelock delayed giving effect to the arrangement. Later, he maintained that this delay was because he considered the stipend insufficient, that he thought £150 the proper amount, but before arranging for a grant so large, he wished to secure the approval of disinterested parties. That statement, however, was advanced after the final break had come. In his relations with Kirkland, Wheelock undoubtedly was misled by his

son, Ralph. The antagonism existing between the two young men was deep-seated, and in it the missionary had real cause for resentment. Some years elapsed before the father learned the facts of the matter, and, even then, he was loath to give credence to the truth. It seems probable that a definite feeling of antagonism arose as a result of the succession to the leadership of the school. The English Trust had incautiously stated that Kirkland seemed best fitted for the future management of the enterprise, a suggestion which Wheelock had repelled with the assertion that Kirkland was too young and too useful where he was. But it may be that the suggestion rankled and was turned to the disadvantage of him in whose favor it was made. There seems to be little doubt that this was the real cause of the hostility of Ralph Wheelock.

On the other hand, to Kirkland must be assigned some share of the blame. He seems to have been a sensitive person who brooded over his grievances in secret and was ready to discuss them only with individuals who had no real interest in the matter. It seems to be a fact that throughout the disagreement Wheelock never could find out exactly what were the grievances under which Kirkland thought he suffered, nor exactly what measures he wished taken to remedy them. Wheelock's own letters were perfectly clear; one could tell from them exactly what he meant, but of Kirkland's part of the correspondence that cannot be said. In December, 1769, answering a letter of Kirkland in which certain "remittances" and "difficulties" were darkly alluded to, Wheelock asks "what remittances?" and "what difficulties?" and said he "would like to be told not by dark hints, half sentences & unintelligible innuendoes but in plain language writ so plain that I and everybody else who read it may know what you mean." But he got only evasive answers or none at all. It is obvious that, under these circumstances, rumor, statements transmitted through many mouths and in the process garbled out of all recognition to truth, assumed the preponderant place in the controversy. It seems probable that at any time the matter might have been settled by a half-hour's frank conversation; the evidence likewise seems to show that to Kirkland alone must be assigned the responsibility that such an interview took place only when it was too late.

The reader may wonder why so much space has been given to this quarrel. In truth, its effect on the school seemed at the time to be of vital importance. Kirkland's work was the great asset of the institution and a break with him would bring in its train the most serious consequences. So thought Wheelock, and even more convinced of it were his solicitous friends. The general opinion was expressed by Charles Jeffrey Smith, who gave warning that the defection of Kirkland would be the worst blow that the school could suffer and that it might well be fatal to the cause. At all odds, he said, the dispute must be settled. In the next chapter we shall see what the outcome really was.

By this time sufficient experience with the employment of the Indians in school and mission was at hand to permit definite conclusions to be formed concerning the theory under which Wheelock had established his enterprise. That conclusion, best given in Wheelock's own words (taken from the *Narrative* of 1771), was not entirely satisfactory;

I have turned out 40 Indians who were good readers, writers and were instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, sufficiently advanced in English grammar, arithmetic and a number considerably advanced in Latin & Greek, one of them through college, others carried through a course of learning as expensive as a college course. Well behaved while with me and left school with unblemished character. Many of them went at once into a business they were qualified for, mostly as school masters and interpreters; but by contact with the vices of their tribes (mostly drunkenness) not more than half perserved their characters unstained. The rest are sunk into as low, savage and brutish a way of living as they were before and many of the most promise have fallen lowest. And six of those who did preserve a good character are now dead. Most of them run their schools well for the first year but when they are broken up by hunting parties etc. have not enough energy to reassemble them.

It was evident to Wheelock that his original scheme, involving reliance upon Indians as missionaries, was a failure, and that not much more could be expected of them as schoolmasters. As a result

of this conviction, from this time the emphasis of his undertaking and his mode of procedure were profoundly changed.

The record of the school and the mission during these years evidently was not entirely satisfactory. Nevertheless, the enterprise had encountered only a temporary check, or, rather, a pause before proceeding in a different way but with renewed vigor to larger things. The question pressing for settlement was the direction which Wheelock's endeavors, now provided with adequate financial backing, should take, and, in particular, what should be the new site of the school.

As a matter of fact, the question of location had been under consideration for a number of years. Wheelock had early turned his attention to the possibilities offered by the valley of the Susquehanna. In 1763, General Phineas Lyman, one of his Connecticut friends, had gone to England with the purpose of obtaining a large grant of land in the Indian country, and had remained there, without result, for eleven years, cooling his heels in court, but always imbued with a Micawber-like optimism that he was just on the point of securing his quest. At his departure he offered to include Wheelock's requests with his own. The matter had no practical importance, as no land was ever secured, but the specifications filed by Wheelock at this time give definite information of the grandiose nature of the plan he had in mind. It was no less than the grant of an area of land 30 miles on a side, in the center of which, on a tract of 1000 acres devoted to its use, was to be located the institution, partly a college for the education of missionaries, interpreters and schoolmasters, partly a school for teaching "writing and whatever is useful to boys and girls." The remainder of the grant, divided into suitable townships, was to be assigned to inhabitants carefully selected for sobriety, frugality, industry and piety, with a settled minister in each town. Every third township, however, was to be reserved for Indians, "so that as soon as they are willing to come into such a way of living, the opportunity will await them." Wheelock never had the slightest prospect of obtaining so extensive a grant, but in all his subsequent plans elements of the ideas here presented are to be found.

In the years which followed a great variety of sites were suggested and some definite offers were received. The Reverend John Cleveland, of Ipswich, thought well of the region around the Bay of Fundy, while Charles Jeffrey Smith presented rather convincing arguments in favor of North or South Carolina. Between these extremes numerous localities received more or less serious consideration. Occom called attention to the advantages of Long Island as a place "handy to oysters & clams, so much of the youths' living might be obtained therefrom." More serious was the offer by Governor Benning Wentworth, in 1763, of a tract of land in the western part of New Hampshire, in the territory called Cohos.¹ In 1765 a subscription of £567 was raised among the inhabitants of Lebanon to retain the institution in that town, the money to be used for building a house. Attention was also called to the fact that a farm, suitable for the school, could be obtained for £50. The adjoining town of Hebron, with true neighborly spirit, offered £1000 for its removal to that site and Wheelock was put to some trouble to prove that he was not instrumental in fostering the latter subscription with the purpose of egging on the former one. "Large subscriptions" were said to be obtainable for settlement on the Kennebec River. It also became evident that offers would be made by individuals in the city of Albany. A site was thought of in the undeveloped country on the Ohio River, below Pittsburgh. In 1767 the New Hampshire offer was increased to a township, six miles square. Nothing, however, was volunteered in the region upon which Wheelock had really set his heart, the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania.

In 1768 the matter emerged from the stage of vague discussion to that of definite action. An institution with an endowment of £10,000, sterling, was a prize for any community in those days, and accordingly competition for the school became keen. Certain requirements were considered by Wheelock to be indispensable in any offer to be considered. They may be summarized as follows: (1) A large area of land for the support of the school and for the training of the students in husbandry. (2) The establishment of the institution in an independent parish, which should give to the school

¹ In the documents of the time this name was spelled Cohos, Cohas, Cowas, and almost every other imaginable way except the one now accepted, Coos.

authorities legal control over the immediate neighborhood. (3) Accessibility to large bodies of Indians. (4) The region round about must be inhabited by sober and pious people. (6) Provision for the expenses of removal and for the maintenance of Wheelock and his family after settlement.

The inhabitants of Lebanon had apparently reached the limit of their financial resources in their first offer. They did, however, file with Wheelock a letter of appeal in which they called attention to the fact that the removal of the school would also deprive them of

... our Minister the light of our Eyes and joy of our Hearts under whose Ministrations we have Sat with grate delight, whose Labours have been so acceptable and we trust profitable for a Long Time; must then our Dear and worthy Pastor and his pious Institution go from us together? Alas shall we be deprived of both in one Day: we are Sensible that we have abused such Privileges and have forfeited them, and at God's Bar we plead guilty—we pray him to give us Repentance and Reformation to Lengthen out our happy State—we own the Justice of God in so heavy Loses if they must be inflicted and even in the Removal of our Candlestick out of its Place but we Can't bear the thought that You Our Dear Pastor and the Dear Friends to your Institution Should become the Executioners of such a Vengeance.

This letter is said to have stirred the English trustees to tears. They reported to Wheelock that, as a result of its moving effect, their decision would have been in favor of Lebanon had they not been told that most of Wheelock's flock, in all probability, would follow him to the new site. One hesitates to hint that perhaps the removal of their "candlestick" affected the good Connecticut people less than the removal of the financial advantage which might result from the definite establishment of the institution in their midst, but at least it may be said that if the trustees had been able to read certain other communications between Wheelock and his flock, they might have reserved their tears for some other occasion.

An offer from Albany seemed an attractive one. It included six acres of land on a site overlooking the city. Upon the land was a building, 132 by 42 feet, containing sixteen rooms with fireplaces,

the whole being valued at £2300. Albany had the advantage of being near the Six Nations, it was the seat of many of their conferences, but was too remote to be in danger from Indian uprisings. The neighborhood was well settled, provisions were plentiful, a large church was available, and many children of the city would be glad to become paying pupils of the school. On the other hand, no considerable supply of land was included in the offer, nor was there any chance for an independent parish. The location was rather too near the Indians, so that the boys might run home too easily. In any case, it was doubtful if the work in the future was to be with the Six Nations. There was no certainty that incorporation could be secured. Moreover, for some reason, Wheelock was unfavorably impressed with the moral character of the people of Albany and was afraid that their influence on his students would not be good. "I have enough to do" he said, "in one of the most religious Societies of the land to prevent the pernicious influence of bad men."

At this point Colonel Partridge of Hatfield, Massachusetts, brought to Wheelock's attention the advantages of township number 2 (Pittsfield) in the Berkshires. An offer was made of three thousand acres of land and £600 sterling. The land was good, the site, advantageous for communication with the Indians, was on one of the public roads leading from Albany to Boston. As Governor Bernard was financially interested in the township, it was hoped that a legal incorporation might be secured through his influence. Wheelock, however, had no illusions on that point. He called attention to the obstacle presented by the hostility of leading citizens of Boston to all his enterprises, and the probability, moreover, that Harvard would oppose the incorporation of another college in the province.

In New Hampshire, Governor John Wentworth promised the grant of a township of land, and the definite grant of a charter. No college existed in the province, so opposition based on institutional jealousy was not to be feared. Ex-Governor Benning Wentworth renewed his offer of five hundred acres of land, and from various private sources large areas (estimated to amount to fifteen thousand acres) could be relied upon. Land in the upper Connecticut valley (which had been opened for settlement only after the de-

parture of the French from America) was considered to be highly fertile and settlers were swarming into it, the majority of them from Connecticut. Over two hundred townships had been chartered in the valley and west of it within eight years. The country was somewhat remote from the Six Nations, although forty miles nearer to them than was Lebanon, but it was relatively near the Indian tribes of Canada. Although the country was in the rapid process of settlement, it was yet much of a wilderness, and its inhabitants were supposed to be in a dangerous position should hostilities break out with the tribes to the north.

A Pennsylvania site, undoubtedly Wheelock's real choice at this time, did not seem to be available. In September, 1768, Wheelock sent Whitaker to Philadelphia to investigate its possibilities. He found that the resident governor, Penn, had no authority to make a special grant without reference to the Proprietors of the Colony in England, and the only recourse was a memorial to them. It became evident, upon investigation, that little likelihood existed that such a memorial would receive a favorable answer. Later, an offer came from the Susquehanna Purchasers granting 38,000 acres of their territory, and from the Delaware Purchasers giving a township six miles square, if the school should be located on land within their jurisdiction. This proposal seems never to have received serious consideration, for what reason we do not know.

Wheelock had no intention of bringing upon himself, by deciding the matter, the odium which would necessarily come from the disappointment of interested parties. In March, 1768, he wrote to Keen:

And at which of these places soever it shall be fix'd great numbers will be disobliged thereby—& whoever determines Y^e matter will likely expose himself & posterity to many censures thereby unless he be of higher character & greater authority & more disinterested than any who wo'd undertake to do it in this country.

The responsibility was thus to be borne by the English trustees, who were too far away to be affected by the lamentations of the disappointed.

In the fall of 1768 Wheelock sent the Reverend Ebenezer Cleveland and John Wright to inspect the sites offered. They first proceeded to Portsmouth, to interview Governor Wentworth, and then they made a careful survey of possible sites in western New Hampshire. Then followed a visit to the Berkshires, and finally an inspection of Albany. Their report, a long, detailed and studiously impartial document, was filed with Wheelock on December 17. This report and other pertinent papers he at once sent to Keen. He pressed for a rapid decision, but expressed himself as having no preference, whatever, in the choice, which he maintained was solely the responsibility of the English trustees. However, under guise of removing difficulties which might stand in the way of one of the proposed sites and of putting them all on an even basis, he wrote:

When I first tho't of removing to Cowas; the distance of 200 miles—a new country—my poverty & inability to bear the Expense necessary therein—seem'd to be insuperable objections. But since I am certified of a plenty of provisions at Haverhill & Orford—so many excellent ones of my own Congregation & others determining to accompany & settle with me—the great advantage I may be to a new, large and fertile Country by settling with my School among them—and likely a wide opening soon into Canadian country—and, as I conceive, no disadvantage to the general design of my School, but much the contrary; my view of the matter is so altered as fully to reconcile my mind to it. And if the Gentlemen of the Trust shall fix upon that as the place for it I shall be well satisfied. However I think I am in God's way while I submit the matter to such a Decision & desire the will of God may be done.

There seems to be little question of Wheelock's real preference for the New Hampshire site.

The Trustees made the decision to which he had guided them. New Hampshire was chosen in April, 1769, and news of that conclusion reached Wheelock early in August, coming to him through advices published in a Boston newspaper before the official news arrived. It was too late to remove during that year, as he had hoped to do, but at least the matter of securing the charter could be accomplished.

Now enters John Wentworth, Royal Governor of New Hampshire, next to Wheelock himself the most potent factor in the establishment of the college. Born at Portsmouth in 1737, son of Mark Hunking Wentworth, a wealthy merchant, and nephew of Governor Benning Wentworth, he was an unquestioned member of the aristocracy of the little provincial capital. A graduate of Harvard in the class of 1755, he was sent by his father to England in 1763 as his business representative. In London he soon acquired a secure position in society and the friendship of many whose influence was worth the while, especially that of the powerful Whig peer, the Marquis of Rockingham. So high was his standing that when Governor Benning Wentworth had exceeded even the wide bounds set by the eighteenth century for reasonable peculation in office and was about to be thrown bodily from his position, his nephew was able to arrange for a simple resignation as a substitute. He was also able to obtain the office for himself, as well as the position of Surveyor General of His Majesty's Woods in North America and a degree of Doctor of Civil Laws from Oxford University. Returning to America in 1767, he was received with high acclaim by his native city. As time went on, he retained his popularity with greater success than seemed possible in those times so trying to officers loyal to the crown. Young, gay, handsome, democratic in manner though aristocratic in principle, devoted to horses and sport, happy as the husband of one of the most beautiful women of the colonies (whom he succeeded in marrying twelve days after the death of her first husband), not wealthy himself but able to command large resources, creator of a great country estate in the wilderness, conscientious in the performance of his duties, intelligent and wise in the consideration of the problems which he encountered, of unblemished integrity, he appeared to be marked out by fortune for a useful and prosperous career. It could hardly seem likely that there should be any congeniality between Wheelock and this young royal governor. Yet one of the most pleasing pictures that the story of the college has to show is the mutual respect and genuine affection existing between Wentworth and the sober Puritan divine.

At this time New Hampshire was the only province north of Maryland in which no college had been established. Twelve years

before, an association of ministers in the eastern part of the state had petitioned Governor Benning Wentworth for the grant of a college charter. That robust churchman would do nothing of the sort unless Episcopal management was guaranteed, and the ministers preferred no college at all to that kind of an institution, so the matter was dropped. That occurrence gave an indication of the difficulties which Wheelock might have reason to expect. That no permanent disagreement developed was due to the fact that John Wentworth was quite a different man from his uncle.

In the arrangement of the details of the proposed charter it was Wheelock's idea that the double trust, already in operation, should be retained, and that the American trustees, all residents of Connecticut, should be continued in office, with the single addition to their number of the governor as a representative of New Hampshire. The latter would by no means consent to this plan; the system of double trusts he regarded as cumbersome and unworkable, while to New Hampshire, as an interested party, must be assigned a reasonable proportion of the board. Wheelock was probably very glad to acquiesce in the first of these demands. If he could shake off the effective control of the English Trust, without having the appearance of doing so himself, he would be well satisfied. Probably he never expected that he would succeed in his second request, but was merely stating his position to find what the answer would be. In the negotiations up to this time the new institution had been referred to as an academy. In a letter to Wentworth written in August, in which the main theme was a discussion of the tentative draft of the charter, he added a postscript, apparently as an after-thought, "If you think proper to use the Word College instead of Academy I shall be well pleased with it." It is doubtful if he really was as casual about this point as he seems to have been. There is evidence that for many years he had hoped that eventually a college would be the outcome of his efforts, and it is probable that the dignity associated with a college presidency was not unattractive to him. The postscript seems to have been of the nature of a trial balloon, an attempt to feel his way without seriously committing himself. It certainly gives the impression that at that date he had not revealed to Wentworth the full extent of

his plans. At any rate, the experiment was a success; the word academy, found in the first drafts of the charter, disappeared and the word college was substituted.

In September, Ralph Wheelock was sent to the governor to carry on further negotiations. He brought back news which acted like an exploding bomb. According to his report, the governor demanded that the Bishop of London should be made a member of both the American and English Trusts, that he should be given the disposal of the funds in the hands of the latter, and that three provincial officers (the President of the Council, the Speaker of the House, and the Chief Justice of the Superior Court) should be *ex-officio* members of the American Trust. To a friend Wheelock wrote, "Perhaps he only means to try me, if he should continue to insist upon it it will be Y^e end of my tho'ts of Settlement in Y^e Province." To Wentworth he expressed himself in very firm but courteous language. The action required by the governor, he said, would be considered to be a betrayal of trust by those who had given the funds. The sentiment in the governor's own province was opposed to bishops and jealous of infringement by ecclesiastical potentates. It would be a pity to disappoint the hopes of the people of New Hampshire, excited by the prospect of a college, as well as Wheelock's own desires, but, if the governor insisted, all negotiations must cease. Either Ralph had misreported Wentworth's requests, or the governor was sending up a trial balloon of his own. In his reply he said that Wheelock had entirely misunderstood him. He had no idea of asking for the Bishop of London any authority beyond that involved by his addition to the English Trust as an ordinary member; his power to be no greater than that of any of the group, and his position to be a personal rather than an *ex-officio* one. Nor had he ever proposed that he should become a member of the American Trust. He thought that some recognition of the English Church was desirable, as showing that the college was not devoted exclusively to the advancement of dissenters, with a fixed view to discourage the Church of England. He did not insist on including the provincial officials as *ex-officio* members of the trustees, but considered that if it were done, the institution would profit thereby.

This interpretation put a different light upon the matter. Wheelock sent his son-in-law, Alexander Phelps, a better diplomat than Ralph, to confer further with the governor. The latter admitted that no power existed on this side of the water to compel the English trustees to admit the Bishop of London to membership; the most that could be done was for the American trustees to recommend that the English board take that action. Phelps further reported that the leading dissenters in Portsmouth felt that the presence of the Bishop on the English board was mere moonshine, and that the governor, having given way on all vital points, should be indulged in this. It was finally concluded that such action was entirely reasonable. It may be well to anticipate events at this point and to see what happened to the recommendation. The English trustees, upon receipt of it, were apparently rather dazed at the request, but eventually determined to yield to it. They wrote to the bishop (the letter is not preserved) asking if he would be willing to share in their work. That prelate replied in very pompous terms, saying that he had not seen the charter,

... nor has the least intimation been given to me that a Provision has been made in the charter, either that the Head of the College shall be of the church of England or that the Prayers made use of shall be those of our Liturgy. And besides I cannot help remarking that in the list of Trustees which the Governor has sent me there are several Dissenting Ministers and not one of the Church of England. What use a Bishop of London can be to such a Trust or with what Propriety He could accept it, I cannot see.

So he declined the honor, much to the satisfaction of everyone except the governor, and even he, having made an appropriate gesture, probably was not over-solicitous about the outcome.

From this point the negotiations went smoothly on. On October 25 Wheelock wrote to Wentworth saying that it would be extremely grateful to him if the latter would christen "the House to be built" after his own name. In a letter of the same date to Phelps he explained that it was his purpose to name the college after Lord Dartmouth and its first building after Wentworth, but if Phelps, after consulting prudent counselors, found that it would be more helpful

to the cause to call it Wentworth College, the matter might be decided that way. This display of tact, with the purpose of conciliating the governor, was not found necessary, and Dartmouth College it became. Wentworth, however, had to wait more than fifty years for his "House."

The charter bears the date, December 13, 1769. Phelps wrote to Wheelock, after its enrollment, that "it is thought by gentlemen here to be the most liberal charter in America," and inspection of the document supports that point of view. No mention of religious tests for student, teacher, president or trustee was made, except the provision that no person should be excluded from enjoying the advantages of the institution on account of his "speculative sentiments in religion," and the requirement, remarkable for the time, that seven of the twelve trustees must be laymen. To the trustees was given full authority to appoint officers, including the filling of vacancies within their own body, to provide instruction and to award any of the degrees commonly granted by the universities of Great Britain. Wheelock was appointed president and was authorized to select his own successor, who should hold office "until such appointment is disapproved by the trustees." Future presidents were to be elected by the board. So well has the charter answered the demands of the years that but few modifications of it have been required. The property limit of £6000 "yearly value" (or income) was cancelled in 1883; the provision that eight trustees must be residents of New Hampshire was reduced to a requirement of seven in 1893 and to five in 1921; a modification was made in the requirements for holding a legal meeting of the board in 1893, and in 1807 certain state officers (the five members of the governor's council, the speaker of the house, the president of the senate, and the chief justice of the superior court) were made active members when the board was taking action involving funds which came from grants of the state. In addition, in 1892 a "gentleman's agreement" was arranged whereby, in the future, five members of the trust were to be elected by the alumni, although the matter was managed in such a way as to necessitate no change in the charter.

The first board of trustees was made up of Governor Wentworth, Theodore Atkinson, President of the Council, George Jaffrey and

Daniel Pierce, members of the Council, all from Portsmouth and Peter Gilman, Speaker of the House, from Exeter (the charter requirement of eight members from New Hampshire was not at the start effective). From Connecticut the trustees selected were the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock of Lebanon, the Reverend Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron, the Reverend James Lockwood of Wethersfield, the Reverend Timothy Pitkin and the Reverend John Smalley of Farmington, the Reverend William Patten of Hartford, (Wheelock's son-in-law) and Deputy Governor William Pitkin of Hartford. Wentworth, Atkinson and Jaffrey were churchmen, the remainder were dissenters. Wentworth, Atkinson, Jaffrey, Pierce and Patten were graduates of Harvard, Wheelock, Pomeroy, Lockwood, Timothy Pitkin and Smalley held degrees from Yale, while Gilman and William Pitkin were not college graduates. At the conclusion of the negotiations Wheelock wrote to Wentworth expressing his appreciation and that of the Connecticut trustees for the generosity of the charter and for the governor's "views" throughout the whole affair, which appeared to him to be "generous, disinterested, sincere & truly noble," as indeed they were.

We have thus reached the goal set for this chapter. A new direction was given to Wheelock's enterprise, and the school had become a college.



CHAPTER III

The College is Launched

THE site being settled, the charter enrolled, the legal formalities necessary to the grant of the promised township being under way, and large additional subscriptions of land, scattered through the townships in western New Hampshire and the disputed territory which eventually became Vermont, having been secured, Wheelock evidently considered that the more important steps preliminary to his removal had been taken. He never was more mistaken. Up to this time the attention of those interested in lands in the Connecticut valley had been centered in the effort to secure the school for that general region. That point being settled in their favor, acute controversy arose among them as to which of the numerous townships there located should have the honor (and profit) of being the seat of the new institution. Grants of these towns had been made to proprietors, most of whom had no intention of becoming actual settlers, but who expected to profit largely by the sale of the lands to those who were. The enterprise was thus purely commercial in its nature. Grantees believed that the value of their lands would be increased to such an extent by the proximity of the college that they could well afford to give the institution large tracts as a free gift. The proprietors of each of the towns concerned were so sure of this and so desirous of obtaining the unearned increment which would result, that a sordid scramble ensued, almost unrelieved by any gleam of true generosity or real charitable intent.

Wheelock was evidently unaware that competition among these towns would rise to such heights. He thought the matter of fixing the site to be so simple that he merely asked Colonel Phelps, who had been conducting the negotiation with Wentworth, to proceed from Portsmouth to the Coos territory, select the site, receive deeds, arrange for the planting of crops, and assemble building materials, so that actual construction might be begun early in the spring, ensuring sufficient progress to make possible the removal of the school during the summer. Later, some doubt developed as to the extent of Phelps' authority, but the document itself seems to grant him ample powers. Phelps was kept in Portsmouth longer than he had anticipated by the formalities required for obtaining the charter for the township which had been promised as a grant. The location selected was Landaff, which had already been assigned to a group of proprietors whose rights were supposed to have been forfeited by their failure to comply with the conditions of the grant. The charter of this town, made out in favor of the trustees of the College, bears the date, January 19, 1770, but Phelps was unable to start for Coos until late in the month.

During the preliminary investigation three sites had been prominently mentioned. The least seriously regarded was the valley of the Baker River, with lands in Plymouth, Rumney and Campton, amounting to 5000 acres; admirable as a situation for the college from every point of view except its distance from the Connecticut River (27 miles). That difficulty, however, was regarded as a serious one. Most impressive was the offer of Haverhill, represented in the negotiations by Colonel Jacob Bayley as agent. In this town a site was offered upon the great ox-bow of the Connecticut, near Haverhill village, where a farm of 600 acres, with grist mill, saw mill and barn, could be secured. In other parts of the town and those adjacent 5600 acres had been subscribed. Particular attention was called by the supporters of this locality to the fact that it promised to be the center of the region and that all the traffic of the country to the north must pass through it when in transit to Portsmouth and Boston. Bayley also indignantly repudiated the slanders of rival towns to the effect that firewood could not be procured in the vicinity. Orford was represented by Colonel Jonathan Moulton, who

obtained promises of 2000 acres of land and £80, sterling, in money, an offer which later was considerably increased. In all the sordid contention of the period a refreshing note was struck by Israel Morey of that town, whose letter to Wheelock shows a sense of restraint which must have made it a particularly powerful and diplomatic plea. It deserves quotation in full.

I Rejois at the News of y^e School being fix't within y^e Province of New Hampshire. I Cant think but that it must be y^e Best Place for y^e School as it is a Goodly Land in Gennal upon the River and men of Larning and Good odor are Greatly wanted in this part of y^e Contry. Providence seems to pint out this part of y^e Contry for y^e School, by what I Can Best Larn by information and that the Biggest offers Have been made to have it in y^e township of Haverhill and that Sum offers have been made by Colo. Moulton &c to have it fix't in y^e township of Orford Both towns I believe are very good and I Believe you may have your Chois of Either of them if you should think Best to fix it in Either of them. I Believe you may have as much Given in one town as in the other. I Dont mien to give any more to have it in Orford than to have it in Haverhill I am willing to Leve that affair to yourself or them whose that it is to Say which is the Best Place. If it Comes to this Part of y^e Country I am Easy about what town. Many things may be said in favor of Haverhill and much mite be said in favor of Orford. Col^o Bayley Seems to Like Haverhill Best for y^e School. I Believe I should if I lived and owned thair. I have a Grate value for Col^o Bayley's Judgement. Set interest all aside Sir a Number of Gent^m have prom'st to Give Something to y^e School in Land when it shall be fix't and that they will Rember you and Give you Land for your Extrodary troble in y^e School &c. Sir I understand you are Coming up Next Month. I hope to see you then & if there be any Sarvice that I can Do you inform me by a Line. I shall take the utmost Care to wate on your Bisness.

While Orford and Haverhill apparently were the first to advance their claims, other communities were not slow in entering the lists when the fact became known that the Connecticut valley was to have a college. We find in Wheelock's papers offers from Charlestown, Plainfield, Lebanon, Lyme, Piermont (which, however, was

making common cause with Orford) and Gunthwait (afterwards Lisbon). The first mention of Hanover occurs in a letter from Edward Freeman, of Mansfield, to his son John, an early settler of that town. It is dated September 4, 1769, and says, referring to the site;

I have heard Transiently that Doct^r Wheelock thinks likely in Hanover or Orford or another Town I know not the name. The Doct^r as I heer says Hanover is settled with the most serious steady Inhabitants.

By the time Phelps reached the scene of action, Lebanon and Hanover had merged interests in favor of the latter town and Hartford, Norwich, Plainfield and some of the back towns had entered the combination. The result was the offer of a tract, partly in Hanover, partly in Lebanon, embracing 3000 acres in one block, as well as other subscriptions in money, lumber, labor and outlying lands. Evidently the matter was hurriedly arranged, for on February 10, 1770, James Murch, the Hanover agent, notified Wheelock that he did not think Phelps was properly informed of these subscriptions and asked that the decision should not be made until they were completed. From this time Hanover must be reckoned as a contending party.

Phelps, thinking that he had full powers to settle the matter, spent no great amount of time in the Connecticut valley, but quickly decided in favor of Haverhill. He made arrangements for building supplies to be provided for the spring, and returned to Connecticut to make his report. Then the storm broke. The disappointed towns echoed with recriminations, the most definite charge which has survived being that of James Murch, who wrote to Wheelock on March 12;

I would also take y^e liberty to inform you that y^e People in these Parts Emagin y^e Col^o Dose Not give fair Representations and they think not without reason for there Emaganation for Mr. Powers has told John Wright that the Col^o Being in Company with Col^o Moulton would give him half his Entrist he had in orford if he would git it in that town ading that his intrress there did not Cost

Col^o Moulton So Much as it had Cost him in the Bissness. Col^o Moulton teling him he would take it into Consideration and Sent him a letter with y^e Promise of fifty Pounds if he Should obtain it for orford. at which Col^o Phelps Showed great resentment for so trefling a Sum Being offered. This heare together with much of his talk gives them to Suspect that if he be not bribed he is trying to advance his own interest.

At the same time Wheelock received a communication from the governor, strongly favoring Landaff as the site. No reasons were given, but it developed, upon inquiry in Portsmouth, that the governor was disturbed at rumors of speculative manipulations by which the school was being used to increase land values. His arguments for Landaff were entirely cogent. The school owned the land there and any increase in values, through proximity to the institution, would be to its own advantage; it could, moreover, control the course of affairs in the town and would not be subordinate to the civil authority. Wheelock never had the slightest idea of settling in an uninhabited town, but he informed the governor, after stating some objections to the plan, that he had determined to defer final action until spring, when he intended to visit the Coos country himself. This postponement involved a repudiation of the decision of Phelps and of his authority to make it. For the sake of Wheelock's reputation it is to be hoped that he had better evidence of wrong-doing on Phelps' part than the letter of Murch, quoted above. That was no more definite or credible than charges afterwards directed against Wheelock himself. In two long letters Phelps protested vigorously that his integrity was unspotted and that he had from Wheelock ample powers to make the decision he did, but no replies to them have been preserved. He was never employed as Wheelock's agent again. Unless there was more evidence against him than that which is now available, he seems to have been hardly used. It is likely, however, that Wheelock, now fully aware of the excitement existing among the towns in the Connecticut valley, was hopeful that their bids might be increased if time was given for that action.

In the spring Wheelock went to Lebanon Springs, New York, for a period of recuperation. On May 30, 1770, he wrote from Sunderland, Massachusetts, informing Governor Wentworth that he was on his way to Coos, accompanied by his son, Ralph, Benjamin Pomeroy and a physician, Dr. Crane. He understood that

. . . y^e People in Several Towns are got into a heat & unhappy temper among themselves about the affair w^h I think is an Argument strongly urging your personal presence upon y^e occasion if it may be.

In any case he looked forward to a final decision at a meeting to be held in Portsmouth. On June 8 he was in Hanover, where he remained three days, being compelled to make his abode in Norwich, as there was no habitation in the town itself within three miles of the proposed site of the college. Here he found it necessary to issue a public statement denying the rumor that the site had been fixed at Landaff, Bath or Haverhill, and asserting that no decision had yet been reached. He made a leisurely progress through the contending townships, reaching Plymouth on June 15. Here he received a letter from Governor Wentworth and the New Hampshire trustees informing him that that group "unanimously recommend and vote that the college be built at Landaff or in any part of Haverhill not one mile distant from Landaff," with further details as to the nature of the site, assignment of land, etc. Wheelock referred to this action in a letter to his wife saying that he was "setting out tomorrow to wait on the gentlemen & hope to convince them that what they propose is impracticable, and that it is well it is for I expect a very trying time."

There are many occasions in the history of the college upon which one interested in the institution longs to have been present as a spectator. Not the least of them is that now before us. John Wentworth had his mind definitely set upon Landaff as the site of the college. His reasons were by no means illogical, and, although open to conviction, he had an abundant share of firmness and strength of mind. The New Hampshire trustees were leaders in the affairs of the province and were accustomed to have their opinions prevail. Against these men of authority stood Wheelock, the unpretentious Connecticut divine, and Pomeroy, his faithful friend. The tempta-

tion is strong to exercise the imagination in the attempt to picture the scene which ensued, but this book is a story of sober fact. Suffice it to say that on the ninth of July, 1770, the announcement was made that the site of Dartmouth College was fixed at *Hanover* and that this decision had been reached by the trustees without a dissenting vote.

On July 20 the Connecticut trustees ratified this action, with the proviso, however, that a suitable farm should be provided for Wheelock himself. As a matter of fact, probably this had already been done. In practically all the offers made by the various towns it was stipulated that a portion of the land (one quarter, in most cases) should go to Wheelock. Such a provision was necessary if he was to live at all. During his entire service for the school and college he never received from those institutions any compensation whatsoever. Now he was giving up his slender income as a minister, while his Connecticut lands, owing to the departure of so many from that region, had shrunk sadly in value. Certainly any grant which he received was justly earned.

The reasons given by the trustees for the selection of Hanover are not entirely convincing. The town was said by them to be located at the best spot on the river for the erection of a bridge, the stream there being at one point but eight rods wide, with well elevated banks for abutments. The falls in the river were also considered to be of value. The site, moreover, was in a straight line from Portsmouth to Crown Point, where the Indians were wont to congregate, and but sixty miles distant from the latter point. The determining factor, however, was probably the fact that a large area (3300 acres, including the promised governor's lot given by Benning Wentworth) was located in one block, instead of being in scattered lots, as was the case of the land grants in the competing towns. This land was described as containing 200 acres of choice meadow, annually overflowed by the river (evidently a recommendation) and a large brook suitable for mills. Much of the tract however, including most of the Lebanon donation, turned out to be of little value.

Hanover and the college are now so inseparably connected in the minds of those who cherish the institution that no other site seems

possible for Dartmouth. Sometimes, however, when one visits Orford and visualizes a series of college buildings along its terrace, with the region to west, sloping to the river, as it might appear at the hands of a landscape architect, one wonders if Wheelock was altogether wise. Even more does one doubt after observing the unique prospect at Haverhill, with the great ox-bow of the Connecticut in the background. At Hanover the stream, running in what is almost a chasm, plays no part in the scene. But Wheelock was quite devoid of a sense of the picturesque; to him the location of the institution was a matter to be decided solely by utilitarian considerations. Fortunately, it was quite impossible to place the college in any spot in the upper valley of the Connecticut which did not possess a large measure of charm.

It was not to be expected that so many communities should be disappointed in being deprived of the site of the college without bitter feelings being aroused. The proprietors of Hanover, in great satisfaction, doubled or tripled the price set upon their holdings or withdrew them from the market entirely in the hope of still higher returns, while those of the other towns indulged in violent invective and slanderous aspersions of the persons involved. Thus Colonel Moulton, the Orford aspirant, informed Wheelock that everyone was laughing at him for his adherence to the Doctor's cause:

All my neighborhood flinging, ah, I always Told you a Purse to himself, and now this of fixing the Colledge Proves it. Your usefulness at Present in the Dear Redeemer's Kingdom seams done. Oh, Sir, Consider this affair seams to owerthrough in the minds of Siners all you have been Building up so many years, and its Currently talked that those that have Largely Subscribed will not pay you one farthing if the Colledge Stands in Hanover & others say it Cant Prosper for it's all a Jockey Trick from first to Last.

Perhaps one should not criticize the good colonel too severely. He was probably quite sincere in identifying his own profit with "the Dear Redeemer's Kingdom." Colonel Bayley, the Haverhill representative, also thought badly of the affair. Speaking of Hanover:

The place is Disagreeable to y^e Government in general and of the Easterly Part of y^e Massachusetts. I must Say that many Donors did say to me that they would never give any more nor Even Pay what they had Subscribed if the Place was not altered. I am so Selfish otherways I would advise if Possible that the Place was altered. I am fully of the opinion that I could collect for the Colledge Enough to Build the whole if it could be moved, where not one Penny would be given where it is.

But he continued, in the next sentence, that he would be glad to sell Wheelock peas and wheat at a reasonable rate. In addition, a long letter signed "Publius" was sent to the governor, proclaiming that the Doctor had been grossly deceived and describing the township of Hanover in terms which were scarcely flattering. From internal evidence Wheelock evidently suspected the source of this communication. He made a special point of calling the attention of Phelps to the document, adding, significantly, that the governor "thinks he can trace it."

Wheelock bore this storm of calumny with whatever patience he could command, which, it must be admitted, was very little. To Colonel Moulton he defended himself at length against the charge of personal profit in the transaction; he described the care which had been taken in selecting the site and the reasons which determined the choice. Then he lashed out in vigorous terms:

If there has been an Error committed in this important matter, by all means let it be rectified before it goes any further; but let it be done by Men who are not so Swallowed up in themselves that they will not take pains to inform themselves of the affair, so as to Enable them to act understandingly therein, or so blinded by their own Interest as to disqualify them to have any hand in determining that matter.

Rumors were circulated that the governor was disgusted with the whole transaction and had withdrawn his favor from the institution. Nothing could have been more remote from the truth. Having yielded his own choice, after mature deliberation, he now defended the action of the board as energetically as did Wheelock himself.

But the bitter feeling created in the disappointed towns was slow to disappear, and it constituted a source of trouble to the college for many years.

Wheelock was now fifty-nine years of age. He considered himself to be an old man and others evidently regarded him in the same light. He was disturbed by the condition of his health. He had long been subject to severe attacks of illness and in 1769 was especially infirm. On July 21 he wrote to his friend Moses Peck, in Boston:

I have been in a bad state of Health & in my own Opinion & in the opinion of my Friends very near the End of my Race, but through the pure Mercy of God & his Blessing upon some means I have been using I have Now more hope of recovering a comfortable State of Health than I had for many years past.

He was likewise in debt. Although his Connecticut farms were valued at much more than the claims upon him, the land could not be sold at that time except at a heavy sacrifice, and he was troubled by liabilities amounting to £150. All his life he had lived with that degree of comfort which the eighteenth century had brought to Connecticut, and had formed habits depending upon those comforts. Now he was to leave it all; an old man, a sick man, a man largely (as he thought) in debt; he was to abandon the comforts of civilization, and to build in the wilderness, from its foundations, a new and untried enterprise. Apparently he felt no doubts or hesitation; he showed no reluctance to abandon the life to which he had become so accustomed; he was eager to start anew.

Some of the difficulties which seemed to stand in the way were, in a measure, removed. Wheelock's health continued to be unsatisfactory through the winter of 1769, and in the spring of 1770 he was advised to spend some time at the mineral springs in Lebanon, New York. This was probably the first vacation in his life, and his health at once took a turn for the better. He seems to have suffered no ill effects from the long journey on horseback to the Coos country, to Portsmouth and to Boston which followed. It is probable that the change from the comfortable but stuffy atmosphere of his Connecticut parsonage to the open, and from the sedentary occupations which had hitherto engaged his efforts to the active supervision of

the practical details required in setting up the college in the wilderness, were not to his physical disadvantage. Moreover John Thornton, ever watchful of the opportunity to be of genuine service, came to the rescue of his finances. In 1768 that thoughtful friend had presented Wheelock with a "chariot," a vehicle which for years aroused the admiration of the unsophisticated dwellers in Hanover, but which unfortunately has long since disappeared. Now he notified his friend that the latter was to draw on him for whatever amount was required to pay his debts. These gifts were to be but the beginning of a series of benefactions which were to mean so much to the Doctor in the years to come.

Wheelock hastened home from his successful contest with the dignitaries of Portsmouth, anxious to settle his affairs in Lebanon with all possible speed. He was impatient to return to Hanover that he might give his personal direction to the preparation of suitable facilities in the wilderness for his family and school before winter should be upon them. Some difficulties developed with his flock. It was, in fact, against the opposition of a portion of his congregation that he gained access to the pulpit which he had occupied for thirty-five years to deliver a farewell sermon. In August he was again in Hanover, where the work of clearing had already begun, and he soon was directing from thirty to fifty laborers in the task before them. He left his family at Lebanon to follow when affairs should be farther advanced. In charge of his business at that point were his pupil, David McClure, now holding a degree from Yale in the class of 1769, who had served as master of the school for the past year, and his principal lieutenant, Bezaleel Woodward. The latter, born in 1745, had been fitted for college at the Lebanon school, though not as a charity student, had received his degree from Yale in 1764, and, after an interval spent in the study of theology, had returned to Wheelock in 1766 to serve as general factotum, book-keeper, substitute in preaching, and eventually as a teacher in the school. He was later to marry Wheelock's daughter and to continue as a devoted servant of the college until his death in 1804.

The estate in New Hampshire to which Wheelock had now come consisted of over 40,000 acres of land, scattered through numerous townships in that province and Vermont, all of it in a "state of Na-

ture." Of it, the block of 3000 acres upon which the college was to be settled was of the greatest significance. It consisted of the "governor's lot" of 500 acres in the southwestern corner of Hanover. To the east was a lot of 300 acres given to Wheelock personally, and east of that, stretching along the southern boarder of the town on both sides of Mink Brook, and reaching nearly to Etna, was a further area of 1000 acres assigned to the college. The proprietors of Lebanon had granted the college about 1400 acres, adjoining this land to the south, embracing the rocky eminence, from the purpose for which it was given since known as Mount Support. No settlement had been attempted upon this tract. The charter of Hanover had been granted in 1761, the first settlers came to the town in 1765, and in 1770 perhaps twenty families lived within the limits of the township, mostly in the northern and central part, but no one of them within two and a half miles of the site of the college.

The plain which had been selected as the seat of his institution may well have appealed to Wheelock's sense of the picturesque (if he had possessed such a quality) as he observed it in the summer of 1770. An unbroken forest of white pines covered the greater part of it; enormous trees reaching one hundred feet in the air to the first branch, some of them with a total height of 270 feet. Such a forest would be regarded in New Hampshire today, were its like to be found, as one of the scenic wonders of the state, to be preserved at all cost. Only on the southeastern portion of the plain (the area now occupied by Alumni Field and Chase Field) did the scene bear a different aspect. Here was a heralock swamp, to be traversed only by means of corduroy roads. No record exists, however, to lead us to think that Wheelock was impressed by the beauty of his surroundings, and, for once, we may pardon him for his lack of appreciation of the picturesque. His task was to prepare the site for human habitation, and the magnitude of the undertaking, as he looked at the enormous pines, might well have appalled the Connecticut minister. But he seems in no way to have been daunted by the difficulties before him. His laborers began at once. Rough log huts were erected as temporary shelters, and trees were felled and allowed to lie as they were until they should be dry enough to burn; making an inextricable tangle, except as paths were cut through the

mass. Six acres were thus cleared during the first summer, and then began the task of erecting rough habitations in which the winter might be passed. A site was selected near the spot where the Natural Science Hall now stands, and frames were prepared for a house for Wheelock's family and another for the students. On August 27 Wheelock paused to write his first letter from Hanover, addressed to Whitefield "from my Hutt in Hanover Woods," a structure which he referred to later as built without "stone, glass, brick or nails." The work had soon progressed so far that he considered himself ready to send for his family. Madam Wheelock, who was far from well, was to come by slow stages in the English "chariot," which, despite the newness and roughness of the roads, was evidently expected to be stout enough to make the journey. One of the students was to drive it. Jabez Bingham, Wheelock's nephew, was to bring a cartload of goods, including a barrel of rum. This is evidently the five hundred gallons afterwards so renowned in song, but the writer, had his poetic license permitted, might have added to the interest of the tale by mention of what Bingham calls a "cog of wine," a hundred pounds of tobacco, a gross of pipes and a quantity of apple brandy, also included in the invoice. Exeter (a slave) was reported by Bingham as being "very hys in the inspeph (high in the instep) and Ses he Wont go Without Peggy goos and all His things." One of the Indian boys also was said to be resentful because he was ordered to drive the cows. Apparently their objections were finally removed. The charity students were expected to make their way to Hanover on foot.

In the meantime, matters in the new settlement were not going as well as might have been desired. Although the frames of the buildings were nearing completion, the endeavor to secure water at the site selected had been in vain. One well was sunk to the depth of sixty-three feet, another to forty feet, with no result. An abundant supply was found, however, at a spot seventy rods to the south and it became necessary to take down the partly erected buildings and move them to that place. On account of the resulting delay it was evident to Wheelock that habitations would not be ready for his family at the time they were expected to arrive, so he sent Dr. Crane, post haste, to Connecticut to retard their departure. He provided

the doctor with a pass entitling him to travel on Sunday. Crane was too late, however, for the party was already on its way and in the latter part of September the chariot wearily bumped its way into the clearing. The newcomers found no proper preparation for their reception. However, the women of the party were quartered in the log huts, while the men had to content themselves, as best they could, with temporary shelters made from boughs and branches in the woods. Woodward, taking refuge with his companions in such a crude protection, awoke to find the whole structure leveled on their heads in the middle of the night as a result of a storm. No harm being done to anyone, they concluded that the best thing to do was to remain in the ruins until morning, which they did with whatever degree of comfort they could command.

The work went feverishly on, however, with the speed induced by necessity. The plans called for a house 40 by 32 feet, one story high, which was designed to be a temporary abode for Wheelock's family. Afterwards this building was converted into a college commons and also contained an assembly hall for the institution, likewise used as the home of the community church. It was the "College Hall," later so often referred to in the political squabbles of the times. Work was also started on a house for the students, 80 by 32 feet, two stories high, which was designed to contain sixteen rooms, besides kitchen, hall and store room. It stood on what is now the southeast corner of the green, with its long dimension running north and south. The other building, northwest of it, ran east and west, so that the two formed sides of an incipient quadrangle. However rapidly the work was pushed, the early setting in of winter found the results far from satisfactory. The one-story house was closed in, but the other was only partly so. The infant college faced its first experience of a Hanover winter with very primitive accommodations indeed. The log hut, so rapidly constructed and designed for temporary use, probably played a part in housing the students during the period of cold.

As winter came on, Wheelock was agreeably surprised at its mildness. On the 28th of December, 1770, he wrote to David Avery as follows:

Conterary to all my Expectations I find y^e Winters here are much more pleasant yⁿ in Connecticut, both for man & beast. We had a Cold Storm in Oct^r of rain & snow since wⁿ I can hardly say I have been cold. I ha'nt yet suffered so much as my Young Men say they did in one hour in Connecticut last month, nor so much as I have often suffered y^{re} in an hour in y^e Month of Nov^m. Cattle will live here & do well wth half y^e Fodder w^h they commonly require in Lebanon, Yet y^e Inhabitants say y^e coldest of y^e weather has commonly been about y^s time.

The force of this optimistic statement is somewhat marred by its nearness in Wheelock's files to a communication received by him in January, 1771, from the authorities of Hanover asking what legal formalities were necessary in the case of one Joseph Tilden, whose frozen corpse had been found on the highway, and by the statement of McClure that the snow lay four feet in depth for five months upon the tangled mass of fallen pines. In the subsequent year Wheelock noted in his diary on June 13 that, in clearing away the chips before the college door, ice beneath the mass was found to be six inches thick. We hear no further assertions from any of the settlers in praise of the mildness of the Hanover winter.

In the meantime, the internal affairs of the infant college were proceeding with gratifying smoothness. Wheelock had brought with him to Hanover about thirty students, only three of whom were Indians, the greater number English youths upon charity. He soon found that provisions were difficult to secure. As yet the productive capacity of the new country was small, and, it had been further diminished during the summer of 1770 by the invasion of a horde of army worms. Very little could be obtained in the neighborhood and that only for ready cash, although the record of a gift by a charitable citizen of Lyme of a "cargoe of pumkins," is still preserved. Most of the provisions had to be imported from Northfield and Montague in Massachusetts, a hundred miles away. Under these circumstances, Wheelock thought it best to send home all his students except those upon charity, and accordingly ten of them departed before winter set in. The remainder found their situation in the little clearing surrounded by towering pines where "the sun

was invisible by reason of the trees until risen many degrees above the horizon" conducive to study and meditation. A church was "gathered" on January 23, 1771, with Wheelock as pastor and a membership of twenty-seven. The heart of the doctor was made glad by a revival of religion notably affecting the college. In February he wrote to the governor in the following terms:

My Situation is quite agreeable to me & much more so than I expected. Peace, Love, Satisfaction, Cheerfulness & Contentment are our daily repast . . . They are all Sufficiently Studious & many bid fair to be Great Scholars & I persuade myself your Excellency would be pleased to See the order and decorum that obtain through the Whole.

A single disagreeable feature intruded in this abode of peace. A charity student, Aaron Crosby, objected to the manual work required of him and asked for his dismissal. Wheelock, however, learned in some way that Crosby was dealing with the Boston Board and seemed about to be taken under the jurisdiction of that group. This offense was apparently in his mind among the major crimes, and the culprit received short shrift. No dismissal was granted, but he was expelled from the college, neck and crop. Nor was this all. Accompanying the notification of his expulsion was a vote of the church, pronouncing the culprit guilty of a "scandalous breach of the fifth commandment." The first victim of the heavy hand of college discipline could at least console himself that the job was thoroughly done.

The *Narrative* of 1771 tells us that the number of charity students in the school was then twenty-four. Of these, eighteen were English youths, preparing for mission work, five were Indians and one was of mixed blood. In addition, the funds were supporting two college graduates, David Avery and David McClure. Stringent rules were drawn up for those enjoying the benefit of the endowment,

Whereby their diversions may be turned from that which is puerile, such as playing with balls, bowls and other ways of diversion as have necessarily been gone into by students in other places for want of an opportunity to exercise themselves to that which is

more useful and better calculated to answer all the great and good ends proposed.

The results seemed to Wheelock entirely satisfactory. In May 1771 he wrote to his son-in-law, William Patten;

No difficulty has been met in governing the college hitherto. The Youth are all to a man, since I have expelled one, well pleased with the plan of improving the vacancies with cultivation of their lands—this is now the second week of Vacation & they are all as busy as bees in making their Gardens—and a surprising alteration they have made in the face of things.

Let us hope that the good Doctor did not deceive himself in this rosy estimate, as college presidents and other educational leaders since his time have been known to do.

With the advent of spring came the resumption of the activities which the cold weather had brought to a close. Everything in the new settlement was in a bustle. Laborers, in numbers, were imported and set to work upon the projects which must be carried out. The half-finished buildings were completed. They were hastily and shabbily built, for the Doctor regarded them as merely temporary in character, shortly to be replaced by a large "College" of stone or brick, for which plans had already been prepared. As a matter of fact, they remained the home of the institution for twenty years. An attempt was made to burn the accumulation of fallen trees, but that project was abortive during the year, as the wood still proved too green. It was of the highest importance that the college should become independent of external sources for provisions, and that large areas of land should be put into cultivation at the earliest moment. Laborers were set vigorously at the work of clearing additional tracts. It was no easy task. Even after the trees were felled and burned, the removal of the stumps made a difficult problem in itself. Piled in the form of fences in certain parts of the village, they constituted, until recent times, the last remnant of primeval Hanover. Even then, unless careful cultivation was practised, the land was soon covered by a dense second growth, almost as difficult to remove as was the original forest. By the end of the

season Wheelock's laborers had cleared forty acres. It was also highly important that mills should be provided for sawing lumber and grinding grain. A start had been made in the previous summer, but the outcome had not been a success. Now the structure, installed on Mink Brook, just below Sand Hill, was completed and by the end of the year was in successful operation under the direction of one Follett, who in December with his wife and *nine* children took up his abode in "y^e little house by y^e mill."

Of all this activity and of the ordinary business of the college, Wheelock was the center. He had help from Aaron Storrs, the book-keeper, and probably from Bezaleel Woodward, but the main initiative and responsibility for decision were his. His letters during the period are largely a record of business. He entered into dealings with various persons in the neighboring towns for the purchase of wheat, he bought boards from Lyme and Haverhill, he corresponded with interested parties concerning feathers, he imported hogs and cows from Connecticut, he purchased bricks from Orford and hired a brickmaker to make those articles in Hanover itself. He had logs to sell and negotiated with persons on the lower part of the river concerning them, he foresaw an abundant supply of ashes, and entered into correspondence concerning the possibility of erecting a "potash." Hay, malt, and beans were among the articles which he required. Clothing was very scarce and he wrote to friends in England asking them to arrange for gifts of varieties suitable for the school. Lime was needed and he made inquiries concerning the possibility of finding deposits of limestone in the neighborhood, with the eventual location of a supply in Plainfield. Nails and glass were particularly scarce and expensive; he sent to England for such supplies, with the request that, if possible, they come as donations. He entered into negotiations with laborers and with skilled workmen of various types. During the summer of 1771 thirty men were working under his direction. Orders concerning the planting of the cleared lands all emanated from him. He wrote to his friend Moses Peck in Boston asking the latter to secure for him "a skillful, faithful, prudent, virtuous and able-bodied cook for my school." The record shows that such a paragon was never obtained, and the management of the kitchen was a continual source

of trouble and vexation. That the power of the college might be predominant in the community, the governor issued to Wheelock a commission as justice of the peace, and likewise another to Woodward. For the most part the judicial functions of the new community were exercised by the latter, although Wheelock occasionally held court. These business dealings are but samples of the endless demands which confronted him. Amid all this activity he showed a pertinacity and shrewdness not, perhaps, to be expected from his previous experience. Nevertheless, the cares under which he was laboring severely tried him. In December, 1771, he wrote to Savage that for sixteen months he had been but three or four times on a horse or in his carriage, on account of stress of business. In November, looking forward to the possibility of some release from the strain on account of the approach of winter, he inelegantly hoped "to have leisure to swallow down my spittle." Time was to give little opportunity for relaxation of his efforts until death put a term to them.

Not only was a college to be created in the wilderness, but a village must be formed around it. Wheelock received authority from the trustees to assign lots of an acre and a half-acre each to persons whose services might be thought necessary to the new community. A well defined plan was drawn up, the site surveyed, with a large green in the center and building lots distributed around it. Although the assignments of these lots continued until 1779, it may be well at this point to anticipate events and trace the growth of the village. The first grants were to Dr. John Crane, Aaron Storrs, and Bezaleel Woodward. Crane, the physician, received the land south of the green, now the vacant spot between the Inn and Bissell Hall. Storrs was given the corner now occupied by the Casque and Gauntlet Society. He was a storekeeper, he eventually established a tavern, and was Wheelock's agent and bookkeeper. The house which he built in 1771, on the site directly in front of the present brick society house, was later moved to West Wheelock Street and now makes up a part of the house of the Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity, the oldest structure in Hanover. Woodward was given a tract on the north line of the college lands, long occupied by the Patterson house, now the lawn east of the Baker Library. His house, also built

in 1771, was burned many years ago. In subsequent years Sylvanus Ripley, a tutor, was awarded a lot to the north of the green, now the lawn south of the Baker Library, where he built a house which in recent years has been moved to North Main Street, where it is serving as headquarters for the department of citizenship. John Smith, another tutor, was accommodated on the site of the present Precinct Building. Ebenezer Brewster, later steward of the college, was given the corner now occupied by the Hanover Inn. Other grants were assigned to a tailor, a carpenter, a mason, a barber, a printer, a joiner, a blacksmith, and to two farmers, so that by 1779 fifteen persons had each received a lot, the land granted including the Lebanon Road (now Main Street). A suitable tract to the west of the green was set aside as a burying ground. The first occupant was John Maltby, Wheelock's much beloved stepson, who had spent most of his life as a minister in Bermuda, but who was now located in South Carolina. Coming to Hanover on a visit, he died on September 30, 1771.

As a result of this activity the community had acquired the aspect of a village. Wheelock himself had received land to the east of the college grant and also an area of four hundred acres in the extreme northeast corner of the town, beyond Moose Mountain. By arrangement with the trustees, he exchanged the latter for two hundred acres constituting the eastern part of the governor's lot and including what is now the college park and the level tract on Park Street. By subsequent purchases and gifts he acquired so much land that at his death his possessions in Hanover encircled to the north and east the three hundred acres which made up the seat of the college.

The first Commencement was held on August 28, 1771. It was a gala occasion for the neighborhood and was honored by the presence of Governor Wentworth and other distinguished visitors from Portsmouth. The party made its way from the capital through Plymouth to Haverhill, and then south to Hanover, no direct road from the latter town to the center of the province being yet open. It must have been a strain on the resources of the new settlement to entertain so distinguished and so aristocratic a party, but everyone seems to have risen to the occasion. Moreover, the guests must

have made all allowances for the difficulties of the situation, for Wheelock says of them, "a more agreeable Number of Gentlemen I never saw together upon any occasion whatsoever." The graduates were four in number, Levi Frisbie and Sylvanus Ripley, charity students, John Wheelock, son of the president, and Samuel Gray. All of them had carried on the first three years of their college work at Yale (much of it really being done at the Lebanon school). Wheelock's own account of the event opens abruptly as follows:

Was our First Commencement. Levi Frisbie, Sam¹ Gray, Sylvanus Ripley & John Wheelock performed the public Services in y^e following order, viz. Ripley made a Salutatory Oration in English, Frisbie a clyosophick oration in Lattin, Gray held y^e Question, an vera Cognitio Dei Luce Naturae acquiri potest? Wheelock made a valedictory oration in Lattin; their performances met with universal acceptance & great applause. Ripley's oration produced Tears from a great Number of the Learned, but the Trustees from connecticut failing Excepting Mr. Pomeroy & Col. Atkinson from this Province there was but half the whole Number present and though they judged the Candidates well worth their Degrees & gave them certificates of the Same yet they could not Sign a Diploma, not being a Quorum.

From other sources we learn that an additional feature of the exercises was "an Anthem composed and set to Music by the Young Gentlemen Candidates for a Degree." The ceremony seems to have been held on a temporary platform in the open air. As a memento of the event the visitors presented Wheelock with a silver punch bowl suitably inscribed.¹ It is one of the few souvenirs of those early days which the successive presidents of the college have retained.

¹ The inscription is as follows:

"HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN WENTWORTH ESQ.
GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,
AND THOSE FRIENDS WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM
TO DARTMOUTH COLLEGE THE FIRST COMMENCEMENT 1771.
IN TESTIMONY OF THEIR GRATITUDE AND GOOD WISHES
PRESENT THIS TO THE
REV. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK, D.D. PRESIDENT
AND TO HIS SUCCESSORS IN THAT OFFICE."

The extensive undertakings which have just been described evidently required a great deal of money. What was the source of Wheelock's supply? At first it is apparent that he expected support from New Hampshire. In fact, he had been told by the governor and others interested in the undertaking that the assembly would probably take the college under its protection and also that much might be done for the institution by private individuals of wealth. The outcome did not justify these expectations. It is true that in 1769 Colonel Atkinson gave £100 to be expended for books. As he was one of the richest men in the province and without direct heirs, additional donations were hoped for from him, but very little was ever received. The assembly showed no particular desire to be of financial assistance. Despite the governor's pressing recommendation, it took no action on the matter in 1770, while in the next year it limited its appropriation to £60. For a number of years after that no further supplies were voted. A minor source of revenue was the grant of all ferry rights across the Connecticut within the limits of Hanover. The detriment to the college arising from the natural objection of the inhabitants of the region to a monopoly was probably greater than the advantage gained by the small revenue which resulted.

It became evident, then, that for the time Wheelock's resource was limited to the English fund. His theory had been that only the interest on this accumulation should be used, but this theory was never in accord with his practice. From the first he had made large draughts on the principal, now he needed it all. He was in a very delicate situation. The college charter had taken away from the English Trust all control over the institution; it had, moreover, established an ordinary college for whites, an action never contemplated or stressed in the appeals of Occom and Whitaker in England to the charitable persons from whom the money was obtained. On the other hand, the English trustees had absolute control of the money thus collected, and it was within their power to grant or withhold the large drafts upon it which were indispensable if the institution was to be set on its feet. They were men of delicate consciences, with a keen sense of their responsibility to the donors of the fund, and subject to no check upon their power. It became

Wheelock's task to convince them that the new direction which the enterprise was taking was one fully within the scope of the original purpose. That was a work calling for the highest exercise of his powers of diplomacy. It was one which must be carried on while his attention was completely occupied with the details of removal and settlement, and it had to be performed with such tact that the needed supplies should at no time be interrupted. It was, indeed, a problem of no small magnitude.

The start was made in a way which showed Wheelock to be thoroughly familiar with the principle that difficulties which may never arise should not be anticipated. In March, 1770, he sent to the Earl of Dartmouth a copy of the charter, together with a letter glossing over the important point that Governor Wentworth had rejected the clause giving to the English Trust powers of veto over the choice of future presidents, but stressing very strongly the fact that the governor had "cheerfully consented" to the plan of naming the institution after the Earl. It was a very long and diplomatic document, with many well-turned compliments to the nobleman, and was as remarkable for what it omitted as for what it contained. At the same time he sent a letter to the Trust, rather baldly announcing the change of base, most of the communication being devoted to the outline of his plans for clearing land and erecting buildings for the budding institution. He also wrote a personal letter to Keen, explaining the matter more in detail. He then sat back to await results.

Through the snail-like pace of communications of the times those results were slow in developing, but when they came they were devastating enough. Keen wrote officially that, in the opinion of the trustees, the charter had brought about the annihilation of the Trust, a very wrong step for Wheelock to have taken without consulting them; that by lodging powers in other hands their work was superseded. They must see to it that the money should be expended for the purpose for which it was designed and they did not intend that there should be any question upon that point. Thornton wrote that in his opinion the charter would prove to be the ruin of the school, that he felt that he, personally, should relinquish all participation in the affair, and that others of the Trust were of

the same mind. In his kindly fashion, however, he concluded his letter by expressing the hope that he was mistaken in his fears. A letter from Savage, much to the same effect, conveyed the opinion that Wheelock should have kept to the original design, and emphasized the responsibility of the Trust to the contributors of the fund. The action, however, which they did not take, an action which would have brought the maximum of harm, was to refuse to honor Wheelock's drafts.

The trustees were not alone in their objections. Others looked upon the establishment of the college with suspicion, some of them sincere friends of the institution. Whitefield, in particular, objected, although, largely through the persuasion of Whitaker, at the time of his death at Newburyport, in 1770, he seems to have come to consider the matter in a more favorable light. Occom was never reconciled to the scheme. He considered it to be a fraudulent diversion of the money from the "poor Indians" to the whites. He wrote to Wheelock:

I am very Jealous that instead of your Seminary Becoming Alma Mater she will be too Alba Mater to suckle the Tawnees, for she is already adorn'd up too much like the Popish Virgin Mary. She'll be Naturally ashamed to Suckle the Tawnees for She is already equal in Power, Honor and Authority to any College in Europe. I think that your College has too much Wordly Grandeur for the Poor Indians. They'll never have much benefit of it. In so saying I speak the general Sentiment of Indians and English too in these parts.

Wheelock's enemies, of course, took great satisfaction in these difficulties. Whitaker wrote concerning one of them in Boston:

Deacon Phillips told me he looked upon your scheme as most absurd & an entire perversion of the charity and had he a correspondence with Mr. Thornton or any of the trust he should not scruple to write his tho'ts to them.—The deacon also told me that he heard your plan was very extensive, that the college you projected was to be large eno' for 200 Scholars which w'od sink all the fund & so pervert it to a use foreign to the first design.

Later Wheelock stated that he had been informed from another source that members of the Boston Board were boasting "that they have now done the Business of Dr. Wheelock in England, and that he knows it was done."

The issue thus being definitely drawn, Wheelock was ready to bring up his heavy artillery. He had carefully prepared the ground. At a meeting of the college trustees held in Keene, New Hampshire, on October 22, 1770 (the first meeting of the whole board) it was agreed that the authority of the American Trust should extend in no way to the Indian school, nor to the funds devoted to Indian education (except as the Indians should enter college), nor to the missions. The memory of Joshua More, now long forgotten, was revived, and Moor's Indian Charity School was instituted to take over the work which Wheelock alone had carried out up to this time. The institution was a mere name; its entire authority and management were vested in Wheelock himself. Officially, the trustees had nothing to do with its establishment; its excuse for being was merely the convenience which it afforded in enabling the English fund to be drawn upon with greater ease. This was the first of the points which Wheelock stressed to the English trustees. Nothing had been changed, he said, in the management of the fund or in its utilization. He, personally, was to continue to be responsible for it, he was to render his accounts to them as before and everything was to be done exactly as had been the usage up to that time. The American trustees were to have no connection with the school. As to the charter, everyone admitted that such an incorporation was necessary for the holding of land, and everyone also admitted that a landed estate was highly desirable for the school. Moreover, experience had shown that the direction of the movement must be changed. Although a suitable number of Indians would continue to be admitted, the main reliance in the future must be on white boys, trained to serve as missionaries. A college in which their education might be completed was certainly a proper addition to the scheme as originally outlined. The funds under English control, as they were then invested, drew three per cent. The income which resulted was not large enough to take care of any considerable number of students. On the other hand, if those funds should be trans-

ferred to America and employed in clearing the wild land now owned by the college, the return would be from fifty to one hundred per cent, and as many as one hundred students might be supported from the proceeds. He promised, further, that no buildings should be erected at the expense of the fund, except those needed for the Indian school. As for the college as an institution for independent students, Wheelock pointed out that a crying need for such a foundation existed in a new country in the process of rapid settlement, where a trained ministry would soon be required in at least two hundred towns. That laudable demand could be met by the projected college, without in any way impairing the work of the school; in fact the revenue coming from the independent pupils would increase the resources available for the training of Indians and white charity students, and thus each institution would contribute to the effectiveness of the other. Finally, Wheelock announced, with much dignity, that he had made it a rule not to allow his expenditures to exceed an amount which his little personal estate could pay, in case all his friends should forsake him, so that he would not have the uneasiness and reproach of wronging his laborers. In letters to individual members of the Trust he expanded upon these themes, and mentioned others. To Thornton, who had objected to using the funds for the erection of buildings, he asserted that nothing had been built beyond necessary accommodations for the charity students, and that he was holding in abeyance plans for a college building until they could be carried out with money coming from other sources. As a matter of fact, it eventually proved that all the buildings, including the mills, erected up to that time had been placed on Wheelock's own land, although the American trustees seem to have been in ignorance of that fact.

The case which Wheelock thus made out seemed logical, although, upon careful examination, it was not entirely free from flaws. The English trustees, while they were still somewhat suspicious of the scheme, began to waver in their opposition. They agreed, however, to continue the arrangement which had hitherto prevailed, with the understanding that they should have nothing to do with the college, and that all their business should be with Wheelock personally and should be exclusively for the benefit of the

school. Thornton, in particular, was extremely solicitous lest the money should be misused for buildings, but, at the same time, with characteristic generosity, informed Wheelock that, if he should be put into any difficulty by the action of the English Trust, he might draw upon Thornton, personally, for four or five hundred pounds or "double thereof if you judge it needful." Wheelock's drafts on the fund were steadily honored and his accounts were always approved. His demands were by no means small. In 1770 he drew for £883, in 1771 for £1308 and in 1772 for £1455, sterling. As time went on, the trustees, or at least the larger portion of them, came into thorough sympathy with his plans, and all of them, evidently, considered that he was making proper use of the money under their control. Wheelock's victory was complete.

The story of his relations with the Scotch Society is quite a different matter. It will be remembered that £2500, secured by Whitaker and Occom in Scotland, was under the jurisdiction of that organization. It drew interest at 4%, while the English fund drew only 3%, so, at first, Wheelock made no drafts upon the former fund. He announced the granting of the college charter to this society at the time that he gave similar notice to the English board. No direct reply was received, but at third hand he learned that the Scotch objected strongly to the terms of the incorporation, for a different reason, however, from any yet advanced; namely, that the charter contained no provision that a majority of trustees should be Presbyterian ministers, so that the institution would thus surely pass under Episcopal control. This conclusion Wheelock endeavored to disprove, but the fact upon which it was based was self-evident, a fact very creditable to those who had drawn up the document. The supervision of expenditures from the Scotch fund, up to this time, had been vested in the Connecticut Correspondents. That group had no further reason for existence, now that the institution was removed to New Hampshire. Wheelock endeavored to have the Society establish a similar board in the province in which the college was now located. The Society coldly replied that the Boston and New Jersey Correspondents were sufficient for the purpose and that all expenditures must be approved by one or the other of these groups. As the Boston group seems to have been actively

hostile to the institution, and as that of New Jersey was three hundred miles away, Wheelock pointed out that such a requirement really deprived him of all use of the fund, although he put the reason in both cases as that of distance; an expostulation which brought no reply. One missionary expedition was financed by approval of the New Jersey Correspondents, at the expense of £150, and £40 used for another purpose, but that was all that in Wheelock's day ever came to the institution from the Scotch fund. The Doctor attempted to draw on the Society for the support of Indians in his school; the officials refused, pointing to his 1771 *Narrative* as evidence that such attempts at Indian education were futile. He endeavored to persuade them to finance missions sent to the Canadian tribes. They replied that they were not interested in work in that direction. In other words, nothing that Wheelock could do was satisfactory to them; they had lost confidence in him. In later years, when the English fund was exhausted and the president was in the direst financial difficulties, the presence of this fund, upon which he could not lay his hands, was to him a source of extreme exasperation. His point of view was that the money had been raised by his own efforts, by his own agents, and for purposes the legitimacy of which he was the best judge. Their contention was that the judgment as to the expenditure was entirely theirs. One argument not definitely stated was really the convincing one, and that was that they had the money. Although in later years most of the income was, for a time, devoted to the payment of the debts of the school and to maintaining Indian students in the school and college, so far as the principal goes the Scotch Society has it still.

The college year 1771-1772 opened with the facilities for the comfort of the students much advanced by the work of the summer. The two college buildings were completed, and Wheelock wrote to Avery, "I think I have the fairest prospect both with respect to Indians & English that ever opened to view in America." He informed Thornton that he had accommodations for one hundred students. As time went on, he encountered no difficulty in securing sufficient numbers of students, so long as he charged them nothing for the services of the college. We often hear praises of the self reliance of the forefathers of New England, but the number

of letters in Wheelock's correspondence from fathers asking for the education of their sons "upon charity" seems to indicate that a goodly number among these sturdy men were not above accepting gratuitous aid. The fact that these youths, upon graduation, were obliged to serve, at Wheelock's will, as missionaries among the Indians troubled them not at all—until they were graduated, and then it troubled them a great deal. Paying students, however, began to come in increasing numbers. No charge was fixed by college rules for their expenses, the matter being left to Wheelock's discretion. He seems, generally, to have made a charge of £20 *per annum*, which included tuition, room and board. He was glad to receive horses, cattle, wheat, woolen goods and other commodities in payment. A manuscript catalogue in the spring of 1772 shows that the college was then composed of two seniors, five juniors, five sophomores, twelve freshmen, eight sub-freshmen and nine of miscellaneous classification, the latter including five Indians and one "Molato." The five Indians and twenty of the English were upon charity. Of the twenty-four men enrolled in the four college classes, seventeen were from Connecticut. The authority of Wheelock as a leader of the New Lights, and the opposition of Yale to that group, for many years continued to be an asset to the college in drawing students from that quarter. Of the 284 graduates in the first twenty classes in the college, 121 were natives of Connecticut.

One problem troubled Wheelock not at all. No reference to it occurs in any of his manuscripts or in the records of the college during the period of his leadership; the problem of what the student should study. The eighteenth century did not know that it was a problem. The classical curriculum, which had been evolved years before and which was to last for a century to come, was taken for granted by all and was accepted by Wheelock without question. We have no mention of the course of studies before 1796, seventeen years after his death. It then included the "learned languages" through the first three years, mathematics (of very elementary type) through two years, the rudiments of speaking and writing in freshman year, geography and logic in sophomore year, English and Latin composition, metaphysics, and the elements of natural and physical law in senior year. Without question such was the curricu-

lum of Wheelock's day. No one of consequence seems to have objected to it or to have wished it modified. It is true that in the rough draft of the records of a meeting of the trustees in 1776, probably as a result of the influence of the revolutionary movement then sweeping the country, the following vote is found:

That the studies of the students in this college be varied from their usual course at discretion of the President & Tutors and that Longinus on the Sublime, Gravesend's Philosophy, Oratory and some System on the Spirit of Laws, the nature of Liberty and civil Government be introduced in addition to their other studies.

But someone, probably Wheelock, thought better of such a radical change and the vote does not appear in the permanent records. One person, indeed, protested, in the modern spirit, against the dominance of the classics as resulting in a training of an impractical nature and one useless in the subsequent life of the student. It was Stephen Burroughs, always termed "the notorious," an engaging swindler, confidence man, horse-thief, counterfeiter, and rascal in general, for a short time a student of the college, who, in his memoirs, intersperses among the accounts of various rascalities his radical ideas upon education. The general reputation of Burroughs did not contribute materially to the effectiveness of his plea.

In 1772 Benjamin Gale, of Killingworth, Connecticut, informed Wheelock that he wished to send his grandson to Dartmouth for the following reason:

The Education at Yale is not Liberal: they are too Contracted in their Principles and do not Encourage a Free Enquiry. Error never flourishes in any soil so Luxuriantly as where a free Enquiring after Truth is not permitted, I might say Encouraged. I thought myself before I again renewed our Old Acquaintance that you had fallen into that Error yourself but was agreeably disappointed.

This has a very modern sound and it would be encouraging to think that it really represented Wheelock's outlook on education. Unfortunately no other evidence exists to support that point of view. Wheelock's prime purpose was the Christianizing of the Indians, with their education as a means toward that end. Only incidentally

was he interested in the training of white boys, and, here again, the emphasis in his mind was their proper preparation for the ministry. In his letters, while he often speaks of "liberal education," there is no evidence that he devoted any serious thought to educational problems as such. He seems to have been quite content to accept the conventions of his times.

The supply of suitable teachers for his institution was another problem that gave him very little difficulty. It is true that, very early, he began to call the attention of possible benefactors to the desirability of endowing the president's chair and certain professorships, but he never obtained funds for that purpose. However, he did have at his disposal a number of graduates who had received their education on charity and who were at his service for the mere expense of their support, and he also had his own family. These men were assigned to the posts of tutors, with no fixed compensation beyond their living expenses. Any money which they required they had to obtain by personal requests to Wheelock himself. During the first year the tutors were Bezaleel Woodward and Ralph Wheelock. The latter's infirmities, however, had by this time so increased that he was of no further service to his father. Two of the graduates of the class of 1771, John Wheelock and Sylvanus Ripley, were then retained as tutors. Only one person during Wheelock's regime received the grade of professor. That matter will be discussed later in this book.

Commencement in 1772 was made a gala event. Governor Wentworth, determined to inspire the official society of Portsmouth with some of his own enthusiasm for the college, collected a brilliant galaxy to accompany him on the difficult journey to Hanover. The list of expected guests, which he sent in advance, included eighteen prominent citizens from southern New Hampshire, a number of them members of the Assembly, chosen with the idea that their interest, could it be aroused, would be of great service to the college. The governor had been greatly disturbed by the fact that the contour of the country made the trade of Hanover seek a natural outlet in Newburyport or Boston rather than in Portsmouth. To remedy this, so far as possible, he ordered a road to be built between Hanover and his seat at Wolfborough, a path laid out with serene dis-

regard of natural obstacles, running over hill and dale to its destination in a line as direct as could be made. By this time it was partially cleared, so that the Governor thought it could be traversed on horseback, and he succeeded in doing so, although some of the more corpulent members of the party found the passage of Moose Mountain a trying experience. Traces of the road still survive, but if travelers, other than the Governor's party, attempted to use it, the number could never have been large. At Plymouth the guests were met by a group of students who escorted them to Hanover, the whole party camping for one night in the woods. Only two graduates received their degrees at this commencement, but the festivities were dignified and elaborate. Of the Connecticut members of the board, only Pomeroy and Patten came to Hanover, so the meeting lacked a quorum, but otherwise the celebration was generally successful. According to the *Exeter Gazette*;

His Excellency (Hon. John Wentworth) distributed to the vast concourse of people assembled there an ox roasted, bread and a hogshead of liquor, which amply refreshed some hundreds who partook of his bounty with a decency and decorum which astonished most of the gentlemen.

Tradition has it, however, that Wheelock's cooks did not share in the decorum of the occasion, although they obtained their full allotment of the liquor. They became dead drunk and left the Doctor with the distinguished guests on his hands, but with no one to provide for them.

As the story recorded in this chapter has progressed, it may seem to the reader that Wheelock had now forgotten his original purpose of missionary undertakings among the Indians. It is true that, in the press of business resulting from the removal of the school, the work among the savages lapsed for the time into abeyance, but the neglect of their interests was only temporary. The cause which so long before had aroused Wheelock's enthusiasm was ever the cause which was first in his mind. In reply to Occom's protest that, in his revised plan, Indians were being pushed aside, Wheelock wrote that "Dartmouth College is and invariably has been and will be as long as any Indians are left primarily designed for them, and the pres-

ence of white students only serves to make the project more effective." He was entirely honest in this assertion. The fact that the enterprise finally developed along different lines was due to causes entirely beyond his control.

At first, it must be admitted, his prospects of success were somewhat discouraging. The abandonment of work among the Six Nations, an enterprise which had begun ten years before and which at one time seemed to be of high promise, was at hand. The friction which had arisen between Wheelock and Kirkland has been described in Chapter II. At the period of the removal of the institution to Hanover the Doctor had tentatively in mind a plan which seemed to be eminently sensible. The Boston Board had plenty of money, but a paucity of missionaries to spend it upon; Wheelock had plenty of missionaries, but scanty means to support them. Why should not a combination be arranged, by which the education of the missionaries should be in the hands of Wheelock, with their subsequent employment subsidized by the Board? Wheelock suggested this scheme to Whitefield, who was in America in 1770, and also mentioned it to the English Trust. Whitefield strongly objected to the project, particularly that part of it which would necessitate the separation of Kirkland from his patron, and busied himself with arranging a meeting of the parties concerned at which he was sure that all the difficulties might be removed. Unfortunately Whitefield died (September 30, 1770) before this meeting could be brought about. Kirkland, instead of seeking a personal interview with Wheelock, proceeded, without notice, to put himself at the disposal of the Boston Board. It is evident that he had learned of Wheelock's notion of a combination of forces and now pretended to believe that it was a settled policy, whereas the idea had never been more than a tentative suggestion and before this time had been abandoned. The Boston Board was only too willing to assume responsibility for the work of so successful a missionary, and in October, 1770, it entered into an arrangement by which Kirkland should serve under its auspices at a salary of £150 *per annum*. Wheelock was deeply hurt that this action had been taken without consultation with him, he was indignant that the Boston Board should thus poach on his preserves, he was exasperated when he

learned that half of Kirkland's salary was to come from the funds collected in Scotland for his own use (as he supposed) by Whitaker and Occom, and he was alarmed at the effect which the defection of his most successful missionary might have on the English Trust and the Scotch Society, at a time when he so much needed their assistance. To a certain extent these fears were justified. The members of the English group expressed much concern at the separation and were inclined to criticize Wheelock for his support of Ralph (whom they regarded as the one principally at fault in the matter), but they did not make the controversy an excuse for withdrawing supplies. On the other hand, the difficulties with the Scotch Board, and the resulting failure of Wheelock to obtain money from that source, may well have had their origin in this quarrel. In October, 1771, Kirkland came to Hanover, and the conference that might have been of service, had it taken place earlier, was held. As a result, the two men signed what Wheelock called a "capitulation," in which each of them asserted his innocence of making derogatory comments concerning the other and each promised to avoid such misunderstandings in the future by paying no attention to rumors emanating from third parties, but by coming together for a conference whenever difficulties between them might arise. Their official connection, however, was at an end. Kirkland passed his life among the Oneidas in the continuance of the missionary work which he had begun. In 1793 he founded Hamilton-Oneida Academy which in 1812 became Hamilton College. In 1788 he sent one of his twin boys to Dartmouth, the other going to Harvard, in subsequent years to become president of that institution. Kirkland died in 1808.

Wheelock did not abandon the work among the Six Nations without one further effort. In the fall of 1771, with Kirkland's consent, he sent David Avery to the Oneidas to investigate the feasibility of further efforts in that direction, to induce the tribe to send more children to the school, and to obtain from them an explanation of their action in withdrawing their boys two years before. Avery was an excellent choice for this mission, as he seems to have been the only one of Wheelock's disciples who had the boldness to convey to his patron unpalatable truths. The information which he

brought back was unpleasant, but explicit. The Oneidas held the Doctor in reverence, but considered him too hasty in sending missionaries to the field without finding out whether or not they would be welcome. They did not wish to send any more boys to the school because almost all those who had been educated there were a reproach to the tribe. They had withdrawn their children because, although they approved the Doctor's government and conduct, they objected to the activities of Ralph, who did not know how to talk to or conduct himself toward the children, but punished them severely for every trifle. Their own position was an unsatisfactory one. They were despised by their brothers on account of their Christian profession; from being a tribe esteemed as an honorable and important member of the confederacy, they were now looked upon as "small things or nothing at all." No other tribe desired to sink to that position, and therefore missionary effort among their neighbors could hardly lead to desirable results. The Oneidas also gave a full account of the conduct of Ralph when he came to relieve Kirkland in the spring of 1768, a mission the results of which he had recounted to his father in such glowing terms. As a matter of fact, he had antagonized the Indians by his arrogance, and even more by his unjust and unfounded aspersions on the conduct of Kirkland, which the Indians bore with very ill grace. His visit to the Onondagas, undertaken contrary to the advice of all, had been a complete failure; instead of opening the way for missionary effort in that region, it had ended in a violent altercation in which the Indians had advised Ralph to learn to correct and govern himself before he tried to teach others, and to observe from the example of the Jesuits how Indians should be treated. Avery also reported that Kirkland's attitude toward the school had always been beyond reproach. This report made it evident to Wheelock that his work among the Six Nations was at an end. He thanked Avery for his frankness and said, "had that been more used and surmising less it had been well." Nevertheless, he could not quite credit the adverse report concerning his son, and in after years spoke of him to his English correspondents as "the best agent among the Indians I ever had."

In January, 1772, a request came to Wheelock from the New Jersey Correspondents to supply missionaries for work among the Delaware Indians on the Muskingum River, west of Pittsburgh. He welcomed the opportunity with great enthusiasm and suggested David McClure and Levi Frisbie as suitable for the task. The matter was settled at a conference at Hartford, Connecticut, the two missionaries were ordained at Hanover in May, and in July they set out on their journey. The mission, in one way, was a success, for Wheelock was enabled through it to draw £150 from the Scotch Society, the only considerable sum he ever obtained from that source, but in most other ways it was a failure. Despite its interest, the limitations of space will permit but a bare outline of the undertaking. The reader who may care to know more about it is referred to the published diary¹ of McClure, a book of great interest and charm, which is far too little known. Making their difficult way across the Alleghanies, the missionaries arrived at Fort Pitt on the 25th of August. Frisbie had become ill on the journey and was unable to continue, but McClure secured an interpreter and went on alone. In October he reached his destination. He was received in kindly fashion, a council was called and in a long speech he set before the natives the purpose of his mission and asked them to allow him to remain in their village through the winter, as an envoy of Christ. The assembly listened with becoming gravity. At the end of his discourse the leading chief told him they would consider the matter with the deliberation it deserved, and that, in the meantime, he was at liberty to remain with them and preach as much as he liked. McClure set himself energetically to the work of gaining their confidence. Some of his experiences were unpleasant, but, on the whole, he was satisfied with the impression he was making. A portion of the Indians listened to his sermons, some of them seemed to be moved by his discourse, and many entered upon friendly personal relations with him. When, at the end of three weeks, a council was called to give him an answer, he was very confident of a favorable result. He felt sure that his patient preparation for the service, his long and arduous journey, his tactful intercourse with the tribe,

¹ *Diary of David McClure*. Notes by Franklin Dexter. Privately printed, 1899.

were to receive a fitting reward, and he set himself to listen to the customary long, involved oration of the chief, always a feature of such occasions. The speech, in full, was as follows:

My brother, I am glad you have come among us from so great a distance and that we see each other, and rejoice that we have had an opportunity to hear you preach to us since you have been here. My brother, you will now return home again from whence you came, and when you get there give my love to the men who sent you. I have done speaking.

It is difficult to say whether this sudden check to McClure's hopes is to be looked upon as tragedy or farce, but the question as to what he should do admitted of no uncertainty. He returned to Fort Pitt, where he and Frisbie preached to various congregations during the winter. In the summer they made their way back to Hanover.

With the Canadian Indians Wheelock was more successful, although he entered upon that undertaking with much less optimism than upon the mission just described. He was unfamiliar with these tribes, and, moreover, was obliged to encounter the resistance of the Jesuit missionaries, long settled among them. A sturdy opposition to Wheelock's entry into the field was obviously to be expected from that group. Moreover, Lieutenant Governor Cramache, of Lower Canada, expressed himself as not in favor of the project, because many of the Indians in Canada were already Christians of the Roman Catholic variety, and attempts to proselyte them might result in disorder. Wheelock was moved not at all by these representations. In July, 1772, he sent Sylvanus Ripley, with Lieutenant Thomas Taylor of Claremont as guide and interpreter, to reconnoiter the field. On September 21, probably to Wheelock's surprise and certainly to his great satisfaction, his envoy reappeared with no fewer than ten Indian boys, eight of them from the Caghnawaga tribe near Montreal, and two from a tribe near Quebec. This was one of the satisfying moments of Wheelock's life. Despite the failure of his efforts among the Six Nations, he was assured of a source of supply of pupils for his school, and he even congratulated himself that the Iroquois boys were no longer with him, as it would be impossible to handle them together with the boys of the Canadian

tribes, owing to the constant warfare between the two nations. His work was henceforth to be mainly with the northern Indians. Some of those who came at this time proved to be intractable and too old to be docile pupils, but they were easily replaced by others. The opposition of the priests seemed to have little effect. Particularly desirable as pupils, in Wheelock's mind, were the descendants of English captives, who had been adopted into the tribes and who had married and become naturalized among the redskins. Several boys of such ancestry were received. From this time until the outbreak of hostilities between the colonists and English, a disturbance which put an end to all his efforts with the natives, Wheelock had in his school as many Indian boys as he thought desirable. Some of them were from New England but the majority were from the Caghnawaga, St. Francis and other Canadian tribes.

In the meantime the material affairs of the college, under Wheelock's energetic direction, were making steady progress. The funds which made that development possible were derived almost entirely from the English Trust. It is true that certain donations came from American sources. In 1772 a gift of £175 was received from John Phillips, of Exeter, for the purchase of "a philosophical apparatus," and the money was put into Governor Wentworth's hands to be expended in England. In the next year Phillips made another donation of £125, and in 1774 he signed a note of hand in favor of the college for £600, the interest to be used during his life time for "instructing & Christianizing Indians." In 1773 a bequest of £150 came from the Reverend Diodate Johnson of Millington, Connecticut, and the college also received the greater part of his library. Much hope was entertained that further grants of land would be secured through the influence of the Earl of Dartmouth when that nobleman became Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1772, but these expectations were disappointed. The greater part of the English money was used in the clearing of lands. Wheelock informed the trust that an acre might be put into shape for cultivation for £1, but that was a gross underestimate. He did not take into consideration the expenditure required to keep down the dense second growth which sprang up at once on the soil, and the actual sum demanded for each acre was nearer £4. By the fall of 1773, however,

Wheelock had cleared 200 acres, and had sowed 150 of them with hayseed, and 20 with English grain. By 1775 he had as much as 110 acres planted to wheat and he recorded that during the summer of that year he had cleared 100 acres more. He was not exempt from the usual troubles of the farmer and his letters are full of complaints that crop yields had proved a disappointment through drought or early frost. The problem of fencing likewise was troublesome. Wheelock was willing to erect exterior fences around the land, but he felt that he could not afford to build barriers along the highways leading through the property. He accordingly erected "light and convenient gates" across these highways. Some of his neighbors objected to this interference with public travel and tore down the gates, a proceeding, as it turned out, quite within their legal rights. The attempt was made to induce the assembly to legalize this blocking of the roads, without result. Wheelock persisted, however, with his obstructions but, while most of the inhabitants were willing enough to accommodate him, there were some who were not and the periodic destruction of his bars was a repeated source of irritation. Some of the pine trees, felled near the river, seemed marketable, and in 1772 he sold fifteen hundred of them to persons in Springfield, Massachusetts, for £300. With a canny eye to profit and some acquaintance with youthful psychology, he wrote to his agent that the independent scholars (those not on charity) "will be glad to divert themselves in play time by assisting in rolling the logs into the river." The eventual result of the enterprise, however, was a suit at law, settled after Wheelock's death by the payment from college funds of a sum greater than that originally received for the timber.

The erection of suitable buildings was also proceeding in satisfactory fashion. In 1772 a barn, 55 by 40 feet, was built on a site near the northwestern corner of the green, and a malt house, a wash house and a bake house were also provided. The accommodation of Wheelock's family became a pressing matter. Up to this time he had lived in a part of the one-story structure erected on the green in 1770. The space was now in demand for the college and, moreover, Wheelock was not comfortable. He wrote to Thornton:

My necessities really call for help. I have had here no other place for study, retirement, lodging and to receive all my company on private business but a little smokey room of about 12 or 14 feet square which I have made in the garret of the one storey house (of which I have already informed you) which I originally planned for a store house for the School & which is now used for that purpose and I am in no capacity to build, not being able yet to make sale of the little Interest I left in Connecticut since the Inhabitants are so many removed from that place and & so many would remove if they could sell their holdings there at almost any rate.

Thornton responded with his usual kindness and expressed himself as willing to pay for the "mansion house" which Wheelock already had under way. It was a two-story structure, 40 by 36 feet, with a "good frame and well built chimneys" and was designed to house several students, as well as Wheelock's family. It stood on the site of Reed Hall. In 1838 it was moved to West Wheelock Street where it still remains, although much changed in appearance, as the Howe Library.

The work of four years was now bearing its fruit. In the *Narrative* of 1773 Wheelock congratulated himself on the changed aspect of the community.

A little more than three Years ago there was nothing to be seen here but a horrid Wilderness, now there are eleven comfortable Dwelling-Houses (besides the large one I built for my Students, and other necessary Buildings as Barns, Malt House, Brew House, Shops, etc.) and some of them reputable ones, built by Tradesmen, and such as have settled in some connection with, and have been admitted for the Benefit of this School, and the most of them near finished, and all expect to be habitable and comfortable before Winter, and all within Sixty Rods of the College.

In 1773 the population of the township of Hanover, according to a census taken by the selectmen, was 342. In addition, 90 persons were classified as students.

Little progress, however, was made on a substantial building for the college itself. Even before he removed to Hanover, Wheelock

had formed very definite and rather elaborate ideas as to what was desirable and had caused plans to be prepared, which called for a structure somewhat larger than the future Dartmouth Hall, but along the same general lines. He described it as a building 175 feet long, 52 feet wide and three stories high. He desired to build of stone or brick (although he admitted that wood would be much cheaper) on the ground that it was impracticable to house Indian students, with their carelessness about fire, in a combustible structure. By 1773 the number of students had increased to such an extent that more adequate quarters were urgently required. Since the English funds obviously could not be used for building purposes, Wheelock turned his attention to a lottery as a means of raising money and petitioned the New Hampshire assembly for permission to carry on such an enterprise. That body, however, refused his petition, but allowed him a grant of £500 towards the cost of building, with the advice that whatever additional funds were needed should be raised by subscription. Wheelock at once sent his son, John, David McClure and Sylvanus Ripley to secure such aid, but their attempts were complete failures. Whitaker reported that nothing could be raised in Massachusetts, because the inhabitants of that province had a college of their own to look after. John Wheelock abandoned his projected trip to New York and Philadelphia in view of the slight prospects of success, while McClure and Ripley found that little or no interest was taken in the college by the inhabitants of southern New Hampshire, who looked upon the institution as so remote from the populous part of the province as to be of little value to it. Wheelock collected some materials and made excavations on the present site of Dartmouth Hall, but the plan, as a whole, had to be abandoned for the time. In 1774 he suggested to Governor Wentworth that one wing of the structure (64 feet long) should be built at that time, leaving the remainder for the future. The troubled times which ensued made impossible even that limited project, and the first president never saw his college housed in other than inadequate quarters.

It soon became evident that the Board of Trustees was improperly constituted from a geographical point of view. The Connecticut members (except the faithful Pomeroy) generally did not take

the trouble to make the long journey to Hanover and some of the New Hampshire members were too infirm to travel from Portsmouth. It thus happened that the meetings generally lacked the number (seven) necessary for a quorum. The first full meeting had been held at Keene, on October 22, 1770. The Commencement meeting in 1771 had mustered an attendance of but six and the same was true of that of 1772. It was evident that some action must be taken to do away with this embarrassment. To make sure that a full attendance might be at hand, a special meeting was held at Portsmouth on May 24, 1773. Nine members appeared, including three from Connecticut. John Phillips, whose benefactions had been so important to the college, was elected as trustee to supply the place of James Lockwood, deceased, and Bezaleel Woodward, a resident of Hanover and therefore always available, succeeded William Pitkin, resigned. Evidently at that time the presence on the board of men who were engaged in the work of college instruction was not considered undesirable. The change was effective in accomplishing its purpose. The Commencement meeting of 1773 was the first of the regular annual meetings to muster a quorum. Among the matters of business which were taken up was a resolution thanking George Jaffrey, one of their number, for the gift of the seal of the college, bearing the inscription, long before suggested by Wheelock, "*Vox clamantis in deserto.*" This seal is still in use. At this meeting, also, the Reverend Eden Burroughs, who had just accepted the pastorate of the older church in Hanover (now Hanover Center), was elected as trustee to succeed Timothy Pitkin, resigned. The Commencement of 1773 was the last to be attended by Governor Wentworth. The exercises were held in Wheelock's unfinished house and six candidates received degrees. It must have been a trying time for the harassed president. His wife was very ill and so was one of his daughters, his cooks, as usual, got drunk, and some of the guests from Portsmouth evidently made few allowances for the difficulties of this situation. In response to rumors of dissatisfaction, he wrote an apologetic letter to Portsmouth outlining his troubles and particularly mentioning the scarcity of linen. He explained that the college itself owned but one table cover. He thought that he, personally, had enough, although merely

homespun, to be decent, but evidently he was mistaken and he closed with the hope that "we shall learn to do better." At the Commencement meeting of 1774, John Sherburne of Portsmouth was elected a trustee in place of Daniel Pierce, deceased, and Elisha Payne, of Cardigan, afterwards of Lebanon, New Hampshire, in place of John Smalley. The thanks of the board were voted to Samuel Holland, Surveyor General of Sea Coasts, for the gift of a "large & valuable dial." The Reverend Jeremy Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire, was present at this commencement and gives in his diary a full account of the college as it then was and of the exercises at graduation, held this year "in a large tent erected for the occasion on the east side of the College and covered with Boards." The number of graduates was eight. Belknap objected to the tone of the exercises. "There seems to be too much said concerning its enemies and the College is constantly spoken of as in a state of victory over them, which serves to keep alive a spirit that I think ought to be discouraged." Wheelock was evidently becoming embittered by the attacks which were his daily portion. That he had some excuse for exasperation is shown by the tone of a communication written by Major Sewall of Portsmouth, which described the same commencement in terms of burlesque:

The scene of action was more commodious than usual for there being no barn nor hog-pen to repair to, they, like their late friend Whitefield, held forth in the open air. The Doctor exhibited pretty much such a figure as Butler's Knight observing the tricks of the dancing bear—he was greatly mortified I'm told that the Governor did not come up, but still he retained a large measure of his pontifical appearance.

The writer went on to ridicule an oration by John Wheelock, a candidate for the master's degree, on the subject "The Beauties & Excellences of Painting, Music & Poetry." In truth, it was as puerile and bombastic a production as was ever given even on the Commencement stage, although, perhaps, not much duller than the satire which Sewall directed against it. At an adjourned meeting of the board held in Exeter on September 20, 1775, Sylvanus Ripley, a tutor, was elected trustee in place of William Patten, deceased. This

election marked the passing of all the Connecticut members of the board except Benjamin Pomeroy, who was the most faithful of all in attendance.

During these years the college made a rapid advance in attendance. The increase was mainly in "independent" or non-charity students. In February, 1773, Wheelock informed the English Trust that he had then about eighty students, of whom forty, including seventeen Indians, were on charity. In January, 1775, twenty-two were enrolled in the freshman class. This growth was, of course, checked in following years by the outbreak of war. Of the students at this period, two afterwards achieved some measure of distinction, although neither of them eventually became a graduate of the college. John Ledyard, grandson of an old friend of Wheelock at Hartford, Connecticut, appeared in Hanover in the spring of 1772. He arrived in a ramshackle sulky, drawn by a decrepit horse, bringing with him yards of calico, which he intended for stage curtains. He was enrolled in Moor's School, and entered the college as a freshman in the fall of 1772. His exploits in Hanover soon won him notoriety. During the year he disappeared for some weeks, spending the time in wandering among Indian tribes; with some companions he passed the night in the dead of winter buried in the snow on a steep eminence near the village; he circulated a petition asking permission for the students "to spend certain leisure hours in stepping the minuet & learning to use the sword" (the answer to which we do not know, but may easily imagine); his name appears upon another request, worded in fulsome terms, asking that the students be allowed to call on the Doctor and present New Year's greetings; he considered himself insulted at being required to take his turn in blowing the conch shell which called the students together, and did the task with a very melancholy and unsatisfactory result. The arrangement with Ledyard's guardian was that Wheelock, not being able to accept the youth on charity, was to receive remuneration for his college expenses from the lad's small patrimony. Not having obtained anything by January 1773, he made inquiries of the guardian and found that the money had been turned over to Ledyard himself and now all of it had been squandered. Wheelock, with natural irritation, reproached the guardian for contributing to

the "utter ruin of a vain, foolish boy who might have become a good scholar." Evidently Ledyard learned of this censure. Criticism of any kind he never could bear and he began to act at once. Cutting down a tree on the bank of the river, he made from it a dugout and, without having given notice of his departure, set out down the river, a journey which nearly resulted in disaster. Reaching Hartford, Connecticut, he composed a letter to Wheelock of eight folio pages, highly incoherent and rambling in character, which concluded with a bombastic farewell to the college. The subsequent career of the adventurous youth, his service as a seaman, his journey with Captain Cook on the last voyage of that sailor, his solitary wanderings in Russia and Siberia, his death on an expedition to Africa, do not belong to this story. A monument erected to his memory on the spot where the tree was felled bears an inscription describing his exploits, ending with the phrase, "His was the Dartmouth Spirit," an expression which gives to those who have learned something of the college career of Ledyard abundant opportunity for meditation.

The other student known to fame was Joel Barlow. The arrangement made in the fall of 1773 between Wheelock and Barlow's father was sufficiently curious. The former had a school but, at the time, no housekeeper; the latter had no money, a boy to be educated and, in some way, a claim to the service of a lady named Elizabeth Burr. All the requirements for profitable barter were at hand; Elizabeth became housekeeper of the college and was to look to Barlow for compensation, Joel was to be her assistant, but was to receive his support and a college education as a return for their joint services. Elizabeth was likewise to have her living expenses from Wheelock. The arrangement seems to have worked successfully for a time, but Barlow's father having died, the boy transferred to Yale in December, 1774, it being for his advantage to attend a college nearer home. Thus Dartmouth lost credit for having graduated the author of that pompous epic the *Columbiad* and other poetical productions esteemed in their day. Like Ledyard, Barlow was of an adventurous disposition. While American plenipotentiary to France he was summoned in 1812 by Napoleon to Wilna,

became involved in the retreat from Moscow, and died of exposure in a Polish village.

In general, the internal affairs of the college during these years went smoothly forward. Wheelock so often described the institution, after its removal to Hanover, as "wearing an agreeable aspect" that the phrase finally assumed a somewhat shopworn appearance. In 1773 he spoke thus of his students:

I have not an indolent, tryfling, profane or vitious English youth among them. Unanimity, Benovolence, Brotherly Affⁿ, contented Humility & cheerful Observence of all Wholesome Rules and Orders reign Triumphant here.

In after years he would probably have admitted that this eulogy was overdrawn. Difficulties soon arose to ruffle the calm of the peaceful scene thus described. It would be misleading, however, to think of these disturbances as making the period predominantly one of contention and strife. Quarrels are more interesting than settled peace, and contention bulks more largely in any story than friendliness and harmony. In general, Wheelock's affairs did "wear an agreeable aspect" but disturbing factors arose, one of the most vexatious of which was John Payne.

When Wheelock was considering the removal of his college, one of the requirements much in his mind in selecting a site was the setting off of the school lands into a separate parish, so that the institution might exercise legal control over the immediate neighborhood. Upon receipt of a request from the president, both Lebanon and Hanover consented to such an arrangement within their jurisdictions, but the assembly had never granted his petition. Accordingly, the college had never obtained special authority over the neighborhood in which it was located. Wheelock had secured an innkeeper's license for Aaron Storrs, his bookkeeper, who could be trusted to handle properly the sale of spirits in the college community. On November 25, 1772, an additional license was awarded by the Court of Quarter Sessions to John Payne, permitting him to retail spirituous liquors, "which," said Wheelock, "I think to be a step inconsistent with y^e health and safety of an Indian School." Largely influential in securing this license was a certain Major

Sympton, who had been in the governor's party at the preceding commencement and who had not, in his own opinion, been received in a manner befitting his dignity.

Payne's position was certainly a strategic one. His tavern was located as near the northern line of the college as it could be placed. The site is now the lawn between the Steele Laboratory and Wheeler Hall. It was evident that if any student wished to obtain liquor and had the money to pay for it, he would not have far to go. The results, which soon became apparent, exceeded Wheelock's worst anticipations. Not a month after the granting of the license he was complaining that his kitchen was disrupted and the students were disappointed of their meals through repeated drunkenness of his cooks, while the neighborhood was disaffected through his attempts to stop the sale of liquor to his employees. Moreover, the readiness of Payne to sell liquor to the Indians drove Wheelock almost to despair. He wrote:

Several of my Indians appear rather to be paganized than civilized & Christianized by their coming and all I seemed (till very lately) to gain by the most prudent & forcible efforts I could make against it has been the rage & Malevolence of such as seem to prefer the gain of a few coppers to y^e well being of the Bodies or Souls of their fellow men & the Whole Country fill'd with lies & Misrepresentations to raise on Odium & strengthen a party against the success of all measures to prevent the mischief.

A state of private war ensued between Payne and Wheelock, in which the former broke down the college gates and the latter watched the tavern carefully in order to detect any violation of the law. In one case, at least, Wheelock succeeded in bringing Payne to account before the local court, but his triumph was only temporary.

The governor was as much disturbed as Wheelock was. He assured the Doctor that the court had acted contrary to his express orders and that he would see to it that the license should not be renewed. He soon learned, however, that the prestige of royal governors was on the wane in New Hampshire. When the time for renewal came, in 1774, not only did the court renew Payne's license but also granted one to a man named Hill for a tavern located as

near as possible to the college land in Lebanon. In exasperation, Wheelock wrote to Wentworth:

If things must be so I earnestly beg that several youth & some belonging to your parts be removed elsewhere before they are totally ruined. Were it not for the constancy & firmness of y^r Excellencies Friendship I would heartily regret my bringing my school into this province.

In the spring of 1774, after a severe illness, Wheelock spent some weeks in Connecticut for purposes of recuperation. Upon his return he found that the students had taken advantage of his absence to institute a period of revelry, of which Payne's tavern was the scene. Frisbie tells the tale in a letter to McClure, a communication of interest not only from its story of the disturbance but as a sample of the colloquial style of the young man of the day. It gives also a hint of the dissatisfaction felt even by the most devoted of the Doctor's followers at the lack of freedom which they possessed:

Doctor Wheelock has been to Connecticut and got home again—that the scholars were a little Rogueish while he was absent—and So he and the Tutors have been about weeding the College this two or 3 Days—and last Evening they plucked up a tall May Pole; or in Plain English they expelled Wm. May from the College. Bodies Politic must amputate their distempered Limbs as well as Bodies Natural—his Crimes I have not the Patience nor Paper to Relate however not the most Enormous but yet bad Enough—Some more Members are pretty Sore, but I guess they will Plaister them up for the Present. I dont like this Jobb and I thank my Good Fortune that I'm no Tutor—Mr. Hibbard is here siting by but says not a word. ther's talk of his Settling at Claremont. How is it M^r Hibrd shall you settle there, think ye? Ans. Just as Doctor Wheelock pleases—I dont know how we shall get along here but inter nos things are not quite so smooth as they have been.

I must go on My Mission notwithstanding all this fuss. You know when I gave away my Liberty, and if other people loose theirs why then we shall all be brothers.

To the English Trust Wheelock wrote that six students had been expelled as a result of this disturbance. The removal of the offending tavern, however, seemed to have been beyond his power to effect, and he evidently made up his mind to make the best of the situation. We hear much less of its pernicious influence in the years that follow.

In the matter of expulsions Wheelock was inclined to make the case against the victim fully as strong as the circumstances would admit. We have already met this tendency in the action taken against Crosby in 1771. It sometimes resulted in trouble. Thus in 1774 the father of an expelled student made vigorous objection to the statement that his son was suspected of forgery and that his character was the worst in the country. In reply, Wheelock hedged by saying that suspicion of forgery did not mean that he was really guilty of that offence and that the reference to his bad character merely meant that he spoke more disparagingly of the college than did any other student. Another undergraduate, whom Wheelock had referred to as of bad moral character, threatened to sue the Doctor for defamation, his father wrote that he would spend every farthing he owned to secure reparation in court, and that the boy's reputation was much better than Wheelock's own, while the minister in the boy's town chided Wheelock severely for his aspersions on the lad. In this case, however, having reached the exciting part of the story we are left high and dry, for no record of what subsequently happened has been preserved.

In 1773 Governor Wentworth, who was evidently much attracted by Sylvanus Ripley, proposed to him and to Wheelock that the young tutor should take Episcopal orders. In that event, the governor promised to secure for him the post of rector of King's Chapel, Boston, the most important position which at the time the Episcopal church had to offer in New England. The proposal did not appeal to Ripley, and of course Wheelock was entirely averse to it. The latter replied in diplomatic language, terming the offer as "of a piece with other expressions of benevolence towards him and this seminary," but asserting that he needed the services of Ripley himself and could not release him from his obligations. The importance

of this matter lies in the evidence which it presents of Wentworth's activities in bringing the college under the control of the Church of England. In his excellent study¹ of the life of the governor, recently published by Lawrence Shaw Mayo, the author maintains that Wentworth was energetically engaged in promoting that end. Some evidence exists to support that contention. The endeavor of the governor to secure for the Bishop of London membership in the English Trust has already been discussed. In 1774 the governor urged that the Reverend Rana Cossitt, the Episcopal rector at Claremont, should be elected to fill a vacancy on the Board of Trustees, a suggestion which was quietly ignored. A letter still survives, dated March 9, 1773, and signed by an Episcopal clergyman who uses the initials R. C. (probably Cossitt) to one of his brethren in which he speaks of the

... promising condition of the Episcopal Church in the Connecticut Valley, where the glebe lands granted by Benning Wentworth should support a bishop & 50 ministers. Further up the river At Dartmouth is Dr. W's college, which Gov. Wth is fully persuaded in time he shall bring about, with the Blessing of God, to be of the Establishment.

It is perhaps unfair to fix upon the governor the responsibility for this communication. In general, the perusal of the voluminous correspondence between Wentworth and Wheelock gives the impression that the former was whole-heartedly interested in the progress and prosperity of the college and that its denominational affiliations played a very small part, indeed, in his thoughts. If he was working for Episcopal control, his endeavors certainly resulted in nothing but failure, and he never seemed to have allowed his equanimity to be disturbed or his interest to be diminished by the rebuffs which he received.

The most exasperating problem which Wheelock encountered in these early years of the college was one which so often causes shipwreck in domestic enterprises of a much less extensive character, the kitchen. We have already encountered instances of his trou-

¹ *John Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire*, by Lawrence Shaw Mayo. Harvard University Press, 1921.

bles with drunken cooks. In two cases, at least, the matter went further, and incumbents of the office were ordered to the whipping post by Justice Woodward for the theft of supplies. His housekeepers also were a source of inconvenience. In 1773 Wheelock secured two women from Connecticut who proved eminently satisfactory, but who found the work too arduous and left him after a service of six months. In the attempt to induce them to return, Wheelock used every artifice, from an austere fiat, based on the authority of his ministerial office, that they were called to that particular duty by God, to the most humble pleadings that they would kindly consent to help him out, accompanied by rather astonishingly liberal offers of pay. The pathos of this appeal shows the depth of his embarrassment. Later, he secured the services of a Mrs. Elizabeth Wallcut, of Boston, mother of one of his charity students, who seems to have been efficient in the duties of the office. In the meantime, complaints of the food served in the commons so increased that they could not be ignored. Most of them came from Portsmouth and Wheelock attributed the trouble to the mean spite of Major Sympson, already manifested in the difficulties with John Payne. That was a superficial view of the matter. Early in 1774 the storm broke. McClure, then in Portsmouth, sent a sample of bread which had come from the college and had been exhibited in the capital of the province as a reproach to the institution. A little later Wheelock's friend, the Reverend Samuel Haven, also of Portsmouth, notified him of the rumors there current concerning dissatisfaction of the students with the food. Dr. Belknap, of Dover, reported as follows:

The scholars say they scarce ever have anything but pork and greens without vinegar, and pork and potatoes, that fresh meat comes but very seldom, and that the victuals are very badly dressed.

Finally, the governor took a very active hand in the matter. On July 6th he wrote of the report that

... your provision for the students is extremely bad, their entertainment neither clean, plentiful nor wholesome, tho' the price and expense exceeds for comfortable living, that youths are thereby un-

healthy and debilitated, their constitution impaired and their friends and parents highly disgusted.

On July 14th he returned to the charge:

It is positively essential that it be immediately redressed. Wholesome, sound and plentiful food must be provided. The very name of putrified, stinking provisions in college alarms parents who wish to secure the health of their Sons. Twenty oxen badly saved had better be cast into the river & perish than one month's improper diet be given to the students. I would not wish to see profusion or delicacy enter our walls. Cleanliness, plenty & plainness should never be absent.

It was evident to Wheelock that matters were coming to a very serious crisis. His explanation and defense may best be given in his own words. The naiveté of the statement, the revelation which it gives of the troubles of an eighteenth century college president, and the information conveyed by it as to the manners of the times makes it worthy of quotation in full, despite its length. It is a reply to the letter from Dr. Haven.

Everything has been done that was doable for the comfort & health of the Scholars. As to their diet I have plenty of Good Pork, Beef, fresh meat all the winter and as often since as it co'd be had. They have had wheat or Indian puddings & butter or sauce as often as they pleased excepting a few days we were out of Butter and it could not be had We have had a fullness of sugar & molasses, chocolate and tea when it could be had and to supply when it was wanting they have had pea, rye or wheat coffee. They have not had a fullness of milk. My cows had the horn distemper this spring, & some died & others almost as good as dead. I have sent to Connecticut for more. They have had for sauce peas, potatoes, cabbage & turnips (in the season of them) & plenty of greens the best that this country affords. Several sorts of food they reject with an outcry such as peas & pork cooked by the best skill of our country. Fresh meat broth they wholly refuse nor have the cooks dared to offer it to them more than two or three times for the twelve months past and then it raised a hideous clamor. Sometimes the cooks have made mistakes and the

scholars have not been dealt with as they ought to have been. Last week there was a gross mistake made, the pudden was not well salted. Upon the clamor I went over to see & found that part of the pudden was too fresh & the other part too salt. The cook told me her salt was too coarse and the pudden not sufficiently stirred after the salt was put in which she readily confessed about through very great hurry. They have steadily had good bread & generally of late since we have had malt have had good common beer. These are the materials on which we live in this country and we cant live better until next year, when I expect a fullness of milk, fresh meat &c. They all know that if they will make their complaint to me grievances will be immediately redressed to the extent of my powers. Nor have they fared the harder because the price they give is but 5/8 per week all thinking men will believe to be less than can be afforded at, when they know all the prodigious expense I am at to import it hither, but they can't live better than they do unless we find better cooks. We have no better materials in this country nor can we have. Mr. Smith, the tutor, eats with them and as they do steadily & makes no complaint. Lieut. Chase, a reputable gentleman & farmer whom I have appointed to oversee the kitchen as well as the other outward affairs of the college and a large number of laborers under him have all along eat of the same and all to a man say they eat as well as they desire to live. I believe most of the scholars are well content and they live better than some respectable farmers in this country generally do.

Despite this *ex-parte* statement, the complaints continued and were deemed of sufficient importance to be a subject of trustee investigation at the Commencement of 1774. The resulting vote, as it appears in the preliminary draft of the records (though it is omitted from the permanent copy), is to the effect that there was no just ground for complaint except

. . . that for a few days some Beef was served by the cooks which (tho' accidentally tainted in a small degree) was judged by them to be such as the Students would generally approve, which tho' it appears to be offensive to some, yet there were served at the same time a plenty of good wholesome provisions, and each one had full lib-

erty to use which he pleased—and we fully believe the most tender care and fatherly kindness has all along been exercised by them in all respects.

This whitewashing report, in light of other evidence, is not very convincing. In a new country it was probably unavoidable that the provisions should be coarse, but it seems evident that sometimes they were spoiled and often improperly cooked. Wheelock must have learned something from this experience. While the fare of the "respectable farmers in this country" was that to which he and his family was accustomed, while it was acceptable to the Indians and was submitted to without complaint by the charity students who were dependent upon him for their support, it was evident that it would not be accepted without protest by the delicately reared lads of Portsmouth. Either the food must have improved or the taste of his students must have become less nice, for during the remainder of his time we hear of no organized objection to the fare which he served.

During this entire period Wheelock was steadily drawing on the English fund for the clearing of land, the support of charity students, both Indians and whites, and for the expenses of his missions. Large sums were also spent in preparing Landaff for settlement, an outgo which, as events were to show, resulted in an entire loss of the money invested. In 1773 his drafts amounted to £1106, sterling, and in 1774 they reached £1715. In the latter year he frequently said in his letters that he "trembled lest the fund be exhausted," but he never seems to have informed himself as to exactly where he stood, nor did the English trustees, experienced men of business as most of them were, take the trouble to make him cognizant of the state of his account. In November, 1774, he received private advices from England which caused him to refrain from drawing more bills. The official notification of the exhaustion of the fund, signed by seven members of the Trust, was sent on February 1, 1775. It contained also the unwelcome news that Wheelock had overdrawn to the extent of over £500. The latter announcement was most disconcerting, as the president had no money

available to take care of the deficit, nor could he think of any source from which it could be derived.

This event marks the termination of an era in the history of the college. From now on it was to be dependent on whatever resources it could command on this side of the water. Moreover, the approach of war entirely changed the conditions under which it existed, deprived it of some of its most loyal friends and turned its primary purpose in directions quite different from those of its original design. The discussion of such a fundamental change requires a new chapter.



CHAPTER IV

Wheelock's Last Years

THE exhaustion of the English fund left the institution in the direst straits. The period of financial prosperity was definitely closed, and the remainder of Wheelock's life was spent in a disheartening struggle to obtain adequate funds. He wrote to Governor Wentworth:

So I am now left as I have all along been without a Penny Pension for my own or Tutors Support more than the Charity of good People, but with the Weight of about 20 Indians and many English Charity Scholars who have no visible Means of Support, but the Goodness of him whose the Earth is and the Fullness thereof.

That was not the whole story of his obligations. He had hitherto been dependent upon foreign support for his ambitious missionary enterprises. It seems evident, furthermore, that his work in the clearing of lands for cultivation, carried out by the use of English money, had not yet reached a point at which the income was in any way adequate for the supply of necessary provisions for the college. Moreover he was confronted with the overdraft of nearly £600, which had to be cared for at once.

The cessation of financial aid from the other side involved no break in the mutual regard prevailing between Wheelock and his English friends. It is true that no letters seem to have been exchanged between the Earl of Dartmouth and the president of the new institution after the charter controversy in 1770-1771, and

with some of the members of the Trust Wheelock never conducted a correspondence. But the letters of Keen, Savage and Thornton were kindly in their tone, and showed that these persons still displayed a lively interest in the institution. The first of them expressed the willingness of his colleagues to continue as a trust if the disturbed condition of affairs between England and America did not forbid. He promised that any further contributions which might be received would be cared for. Savage expressed his satisfaction at the prosperity of the school. He thought, however, that no more money could be expected from England as "most of our ministers have blamed those who have given & said they needed it among ourselves for our own academies," and closed his letter, most agreeably, by asking Wheelock to accept a personal donation of £100, sterling, "to encourage you in your work—for yourself to use as you please—because you have been expending your strength & time & substance in such a noble Institution as I esteem it to be." Thornton's letter has not been preserved, but it is evident from Wheelock's reply that it was couched in terms equally friendly. In subsequent years, when the college seemed to be in danger, Thornton wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth:

I hope your Lordship will be so kind as to recommend Dartmouth College to Lord Howe & his brother that if they give no just occasion of offense they may not be wantonly hurt.

Wheelock labored under no self-reproach that he had made an unwise use of the fund. He stated his point of view in a letter to Thornton:

The funds which it now has, have, notwithstanding the expense I have been all along at for support of Missions, Schools in the Wilderness, and such a number on Charity here, is now more than sufficient to support double the number that ever could have been supported by the interest or yearly produce of that generous fund which was ever committed to the hands of my ever honorable Patrons in London. My expense is yet great for Laborers and must be so for the ensuing year at least. If I could have the free use of the fund collected in Scotland for this season, I should be able with a

common Blessing to compleat my plan, provided also Funds were established for the support of necessary officers and instructors.

These kindly letters from his foreign friends, and his own consciousness of the wisdom of his plans, were well enough in their way, but they did not meet the problem immediately at hand. The institution must be kept under way and, in particular, the overdrafts must be cared for if the credit of the college was to be kept intact. Wheelock turned to every possible source which seemed to give promise of yielding ready cash. He appealed to those who owed him to pay their debts. He presented a memorial to the New Hampshire assembly asking for a grant and petitioned that body, furthermore, to loan him money from the provincial treasury. He tried to sell or mortgage his Connecticut farms. He inquired of Whitaker as to the possibility of raising a subscription near Boston. He asked a loan of £500 from the Connecticut assembly, to run without interest. He petitioned for a grant from the Continental Congress. He tried to borrow £500 from William Morris of Philadelphia. He even had the boldness to draw upon the Scotch fund for certain expenses connected with missions. Probably he made other appeals which are not recorded.

In most cases the results of his endeavors were *nil*. The country was on the verge of war and the interest of the people was upon that struggle, not upon Indian conversion, charity schools, or colleges for English youth. He had no success in collecting his debts. He estimated that at least £1000 was due him, not £5 of which he could get. Moreover, in the confusion which prevailed, legal methods of collecting obligations were in abeyance and many persons were taking advantage of the state of chaos to avoid meeting just claims which they could well afford to pay. Even the charges of independent students were left unsettled by their parents because there was no way to enforce collection. Ready money was "an article very scarce and hard to come at," and even the wealthiest of men were not in a position to advance loans. Assemblies were interested only in measures directed against royal authority, and royal governors only in doing away with the activities of assemblies by prorogation. In the disturbed condition of the times, no one wished

to acquire real estate or to loan money upon it as security. The Scotch Society, ever suspicious and hostile, allowed Wheelock's bills to be protested. With great bitterness he wrote:

It seems to me that whenever their treatment of me comes fully to light it will appear so mean, unmanly, unchristian, unrighteous, ungenerous as to fill the more judicious and religious sort of men, and especially such as are friends to this institution, with indignation.

Three incidents, only, lightened the dark aspect of affairs. In 1775 the college received a donation of £50 from Mrs. Eliza Smith "late relict of Rector Williams (Rector of Yale, in Wheelock's college days) and the Hon'l Wm. Smith of New York." In the same year the Continental Congress made a grant of \$500 for purposes which will soon be described. Most important of all, the English trustees did not allow the overdrafts to be protested but, in some way not recorded, provided for their payment.

The summer of 1775 was probably the most trying time of Wheelock's life, although, as a matter of fact, he had little relief from anxiety in the years that followed. It is not an occasion for wonder that Ripley wrote:

The Doctor has his common share of care and business still exercising him. Atlas formerly sustained the Heavens, so he bears upon his shoulders the weight of this College. We Tutors only steady it a little & keep it from tumbling off.

His correspondence, in the main, now divided itself into two classes; appeals to those who owed him to pay their debts and excuses to those whom he owed for not paying his. "If I were clear of debt," he wrote, "I suppose it would be a state too prosperous & happy to bear." In one case, although he had the money on hand, he did not dare to send it to a creditor, "as it would expose my numerous family to want of bread." Moreover, owing to a drought which prevailed, provisions were expensive and difficult to procure. Israel Morey, when appealed to by Wheelock for supplies, was unable to furnish them, having been obliged to send to Northfield (Massachusetts) for wheat for his own use. He added:

I am much Distrest for y^e poor people of this Contry on acct. of bread corn. I think it appears to be the Scarcest that ever I have known it sence I have Lived in y^e Contry.

Clothing was also lacking and Wheelock made an appeal to charitable persons in Connecticut on behalf of his Indian boys, in these words, "They are reduced to such a degree of necessity for coats, jackets, breeches, shirts & stockings as I never saw in my family before." It was evidently not a prosperous time for the Indian school.

To meet this crisis Wheelock might well have sent his Indian children home, withdrawn, for the time, from missionary effort and limited his activities to the paying white students in the college. That course, although it was, in the main, the one eventually followed, did not at this time seem at all desirable. Before considering the reasons why this was so, let us survey briefly the situation as it related to Indians and to missionaries at the period in question.

The Indians in the school numbered at this time from fifteen to twenty, ten of whom were from the Canadian tribes. Some of those whom Ripley had brought to the institution in 1772 were entirely too old to be subject to discipline and were much of a nuisance to the college. Even their dusky brethren from the New England tribes, who had reached a higher state of civilization, were annoyed at their activities. In a formal document, complaint was made by one such group that they were kept from studying by the Indians next door:

They are still no longer than the School lasts. And all the rest of the time they are hallowing And making all manner of noise we have been In the room by times to ask them to be Still but They seem to increase the noise more.

The intractable older lads were sent away, but others were obtained to take their places, a number of the recruits being furnished by the St. Francis tribe. Indian children also continued to be sent to the school from various parts of New England, particularly from Stockbridge. Sometimes they seem to us to have been rather young to enter upon the work of education. Thus David Towsey desired to send his two boys, one seven years of age and the other three.

Wheelock readily consented to receive the older lad but was a bit dubious concerning the younger one, and advised waiting for six months or so "when he will be old enough to take care of himself." These children of tender years were placed under the special protection of Mrs. Wallcut, the housekeeper, and regarded her in the light of a mother, at least if Wheelock's statement is to be credited. A number of the boys progressed sufficiently to enter college and two were graduated; Daniel Simons, a Narragansett, in the class of 1777, and Peter Pohquonnoppect, a Stockbridge Indian, in the class of 1780. Practically all of Wheelock's real triumphs in Indian education were with the redskins from the New England tribes.

The nature of Wheelock's missionary efforts changed upon his advent in Hanover. Instead of sending men to reside permanently with the Indians, parties of two or three were dispatched on relatively brief expeditions to visit a number of tribes, to preach to them and to obtain promising boys for the school. English students in college, while being trained for mission work, were sent to the native villages, not as missionaries, but to become acquainted with Indian life and to learn the language. Of the men upon whom Wheelock had relied during his early years in Hanover, Avery had resigned on account of ill health and had taken over a pastorate in what is now Windsor in Massachusetts, while McClure was studying theology in Portsmouth, eventually to become minister of a church in North Hampton, N. H., but Frisbie (for a time) and Ripley were still available. In addition, from the charity students graduated from the college during its first five years, a number of additional recruits should have been ready for the work, and a few did actually enter upon it. Among the latter the most successful was James Dean. This young man, born in Groton, Connecticut, in 1748, was sent as a boy to live among the Oneidas, where he remained for five years. He was said to have been so completely "Indianized" by this experience that, upon his return, it was a work of some difficulty to bring him back to civilized life. He became thoroughly familiar with the Iroquois languages and, as a boy, was employed by the Boston Board to serve as an interpreter. He was anxious for a college education, and as early as 1766 had asked Wheelock

to receive him as a charity student. Wheelock would not consent to do this unless he obtained a release from the Boston Board. As a matter of fact, that group was little conscious of this courtesy and accused Wheelock of tampering with Dean. When the school was removed to Hanover and its president no longer felt any qualms at offending the Board, he took Dean on the foundation and the latter was graduated in the class of 1773. By his familiarity with the Indian speech and Indian customs and by his oratorical ability, highly esteemed by the savages, he had acquired great influence among the Iroquois, an influence which he was to extend to the Canadian tribes.

It would serve no purpose to recount in detail the various missionary journeys undertaken by parties sent out by Wheelock in 1773 and 1774. In the former year Ripley visited the tribes around the Bay of Fundy, without any very definite result. Three of the students, Thomas Kendall, Elisha Porter and Andrew Judson, spent the summer with the Indians near Montreal. In 1774 Dean and Frisbie, accompanied by a young boy of the charity school named Wallcut, started on an ambitious undertaking which, in Dean's case, was designed to extend to the western tribes near Detroit. The summer was spent, however, among the Canadian tribes and the two missionaries returned in the fall, leaving Wallcut to spend the winter at Caghnawaga. Kendall was also with this tribe, with whom Wheelock seems to have acquired much influence. During this period the Doctor also had the satisfaction of welcoming to Hanover one of his backsliding pupils. Joseph Johnson, whom we last heard of as a common sailor,¹ had seen the light, had served for some time as a schoolmaster and now returned to Wheelock with certificates of good conduct. At a meeting of ministers held in connection with the Commencement of 1774 he was awarded a license to preach and the remainder of his short life was as exemplary as could have been wished. Jacob Fowler also returned to Wheelock at this period and served for a year as master of Moor's School. The work of these two men, with Ocom, in establishing a settlement of New England Indians among the Oneidas has already been mentioned.

¹ Page 72.

By this time (1775), as a result of the completion of the training of numerous charity students, more missionaries should have been available to Wheelock than were actually at his disposal. It turned out, however, that youths who entered light-heartedly into obligations to serve in the mission field when a free education was in prospect, found themselves much averse to the work when they were graduated and supposedly prepared for it. As has already been said, before being accepted as a charity student each of them was required to provide a bond, which was supposed to protect Wheelock against loss of the money spent for his education should he refuse to follow a missionary calling. Little evidence exists, however, that these bonds were of any particular value, and there is every evidence that the attractiveness of the missionary life waned rapidly in the minds of the young men as the time for entering upon it approached. To add to the difficulty, ample openings were available for these graduates in the churches of the new towns and elsewhere. It is not a matter for wonder that the comfortable and dignified, if not luxurious, life of the country parson offered a greater appeal to them than a hazardous existence among the savages. At any rate, many types of excuses for not completing their contracts were offered. In particular, an enormous amount of ill-health afflicted these young men just at the time of graduation. As early as 1773 Wheelock wrote that he was completely discouraged at the failure of the English youths, educated at the expense of the fund, to fulfill their obligations, and he remarked, grimly, that he was determined to collect to the last farthing the money spent for their training. His attitude caused violent resentment. One of the malcontents, in addition to the usual plea of bad health, asked if Wheelock, in all fairness, did not consider him to be as worthy of charity as any Indian, an exhibition of logic quite worthy of the highest flights of the tawny members of the school. Another was of the opinion that Providence had pointed out the acceptance of a call to a certain parish as his duty; to which Wheelock replied that he did not see the hand of God in it, but that of the Devil to divert the young man from the work for which he was destined, and he inquired pointedly whether the real reason for his defection might

not be a "failure of fortitude" necessary for the work. Of another he wrote:

Sir Hibbard seems to be wholly discouraged about the Indians, is afraid to venture his life, sees no door of hope concerning them opened anywhere and appears wholly disinclined to any mission I can propose and has been forming his doings for another purpose. I am glad that others are not all so.

In one case, however, an element of humor enters the situation. The youth in question announced with high unction that he had no intention of paying his debt to the school as he "regarded his education as a gift from Jesus Christ." This calm assumption of special information concerning Divine Providence must have struck the Doctor speechless. He had too much the habit of making such pontifical interpretations himself to understand the possibility of their being urged against him by others. In the last analysis, so far as the records show, Wheelock's attempts at collecting from these backsliders the expenses of their education resulted in failure. In fact, he seems to have received payment only from persons whose actual service in the field should have done much to have cancelled the obligation. Avery paid in full and Frisbie seems to have paid in part, but those of easier consciences neither served nor paid.

Despite these discouragements, the influence which Wheelock and his missionaries had acquired among the Indians was now to serve the Colonies in good stead in time of trial. With the outbreak of war, the attitude of the savages became of the highest importance. In general, all that the colonists wished of them was neutrality. They were of minor value when opposed to regular armies, fighting long campaigns, in which discipline was necessary to effectiveness. On the other hand, for raiding outlying settlements, with the terror inspired by such sorties and the resulting necessity of assigning troops for the protection of the frontier, they were highly serviceable. It was to the advantage of the British, therefore, to enlist their aid. Of the points in the Colonies subject to Indian invasion, the upper Connecticut valley was one of the most exposed. In fact, one of the arguments which had been advanced against the college being settled in that region was the assumption that it would

lie in the direct line of attack from the north. Now that such an assumption seemed on the point of being realized, the friendliness which had been established between Wheelock and his institution on the one hand and the Canadian tribes on the other became of much significance. Not only were ten of the children of the Canadian Indians in his hands, but the savages of Caghnawaga were well acquainted with his agents and much influenced by them. James Dean was visiting them at that very time (in the spring of 1775). Upon his return Wheelock sent him, post haste, to Philadelphia to report the situation to the Continental Congress. The Doctor wrote to McClure, "I esteem my present connection with Canada to be the strongest bulwark under God this new country has." It was obvious that the most suitable policy in this crisis was to retain the Indian boys in Hanover at all costs and to continue the journeys of missionaries to the tribes, where their presence, from long usage, could be subject to no objection, and where their influence might be utilized to persuade the redskins to remain neutral. The information which they gained in these visits might well be of the highest value to the American cause. Whitaker, who was in Philadelphia for another purpose, seized the occasion to call the attention of the Committee on Indian Affairs to the advantage of this policy. Patrick Henry, chairman of the committee, recognized its importance and promised financial aid toward accomplishing the desired result. In fact, in August 1775, the sum of \$500 was appropriated to the support of these Indian boys, while in 1779 the school received \$925. The letter to Congress, dated April 12, 1779, thanking that body for this supply and asking that it be continued, is the last in Wheelock's handwriting to be preserved. He died twelve days later. It is evident that the Congress would hardly have provided this money for the institution if it were not fully convinced of its usefulness to the cause. As a matter of fact, the Canadian tribes, for the most part, remained neutral throughout the contest. The influence which Wheelock established among them was not, of course, the only element which was effective in bringing about this result, but it must have been of importance in contributing toward it. The Connecticut valley, from its situation an obvious danger point for Indian raids, in the actual event was attacked but once and

then by a small party. Dartmouth College, at the beginning of hostilities regarded, perhaps, as more exposed to danger of destruction than any other educational institution in America, was the only one which continued its work without serious interruption throughout the war.

The influence of Wheelock's followers was also of importance in the attempts to induce the Six Nations to preserve an attitude of neutrality. Kirkland, Dean, Joseph Johnson, and David Fowler were all paid agents of Congress among the Iroquois. They did not fully succeed in their efforts, several of the tribes joined forces with the English, and Joseph Brant, Wheelock's old pupil, became an officer in the British service. The massacres in Cherry Valley and elsewhere in New York and Pennsylvania show what might have happened in the Connecticut valley had conditions been different. But the influence of these men at least kept the Oneidas from joining forces with the confederated tribes.

The sketch given above shows something of the practical contribution of Wheelock and his followers to the Colonial cause. What was the attitude of the head of the college toward the fundamental principles of the revolutionary movement? At first it does not appear that he took any special interest in the agitations and disturbances which led to the open break between England and America. He was not to be numbered among the clerical patriots (such as Whitaker) who did much by their public utterances and by their influence to accentuate the difficulties between the colonists and the motherland. That relative inertness seems to have been due to the fact that he was so completely engaged in the special work to which his life was devoted, which he regarded as upon a plane far higher than any having to do with political controversies, that he could hardly afford to devote time or attention to national affairs. Nevertheless, when those difficulties became acute, he showed no hesitation as to the side upon which he should take his stand. As early as October, 1774, he wrote to Savage and Keen in the following terms:

Who could have thought or what could have inspired so much as a suspicion that the most loyal & dutiful people and the best af-

fectured to Government under Heaven (for such were the American Colonies ever before the Stamp Act) should so soon find occasion and all with one heart so firmly resolve to sacrifice their lives and their connection with & the favor of the Mother Country (which were nearly as dear as life itself) rather than part with that liberty which their fathers so dearly bought and left with them to inherit and which they have so abundantly tasted the sweetness of and long & quietly enjoyed as their birthright.

It seems to be a settled point here that the present Americans will not be slaves, and I wish it was believed on your side the water. They have already by themselves fully shewn & I believe they will by thousands and thousands if there shall be occasion shew that they are ready to venture their lives in the cause.

In 1775, in a letter to Thornton, he expressed himself even more emphatically concerning the essential loyalty of the colonists who

. . . have ever been propence to peace & reconciliation till this later horrid murder & savage butcheries so inhumanly committed under pretence of reducing Rebels to obedience.

Despite his adherence to the American cause, he was not blind to the defects which appeared in the ranks of the patriots. His affection for Governor Wentworth and his belief that some, at least, of the unpopular acts of that harassed chief executive were entirely proper under the circumstances, caused no small amount of suspicion to fall upon him. In particular, he reprehended the violence of the mob at Portsmouth which forcibly invaded the fortress, Fort William and Mary, near that city and took from it military supplies, afterwards to play such an important role in the battle of Bunker Hill. One of the reasons advanced by the members of the senior class of 1775 for holding a private Commencement was that suspicion of Wheelock, aroused through his association with members of the Tory party, would be increased if he gave occasion for large expenditure by holding festivities at that time of stress. Moreover, while, in general, the leaders of the revolutionary party were responsible and reputable citizens, the movement attracted a large following of quite a different class. Many persons embraced the

cause of resisting the payment of English-levied taxes largely because they objected to paying any taxes at all; they found the period attractive because the prevailing disturbances enabled them to carry on activities which would not be tolerated under a reign of law; and they became ardent "patriots" because, under guise of devotion to the public weal, they could vent their spleen, with safety, upon those to whom they were personally hostile. Hanover was not free from characters of this kind. On August 4, 1775, Wheelock wrote to McClure, then in Portsmouth, as follows:

I long to see our dear Governor. I never pitied him as I doe now. His Tryals are very many & great—and he has a gang of hot-headed, ignorant, unruly Fools to try him. I wish a score of them were in Irons and I believe the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress would order them there if they knew how they act. We have a number in these parts enough to disgrace the whole Continent.

He had seen the governor for the last time. Later in the year, Wentworth sailed for Boston and thence, upon the evacuation of that city, to Halifax and to England. In later years he was to return to America as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, but he never visited New Hampshire again.

After hostilities were well under way, on two occasions Wheelock fell under suspicion of lack of loyalty. In each case the origin of the difficulty was his curious view of the nature of the divine law and its relation to the civil authority. Thus in May, 1775, as an expert on ethical questions, he was appealed to by Colonel John Hurd and other Colonial officers, who held their commissions from the king, as to what should be their attitude toward these commissions in the event of hostilities. His reply is a curious document. He asserted that kings hold their power from the Lord and are vested with God's authority. Those who resist the royal will, therefore, are resisting the ordinances of God. But this regal authority is to be used for the Lord's purpose and may be opposed if not so used. No number of trivial violations of God's rule by the king, however large, nor even a limited number of gross violations are sufficient to justify rebellion. The evil use of his divine authority may, however, be carried too far. If that happens, the commissions should be used

for the Lord's work even if that action involves resistance to the king. Accordingly, commissions should by no means be given up, but retained as in themselves justifying the measures taken in opposition to royal authority. This letter attained a wide circulation and met with much unfavorable comment, not, as might be expected, from its curious logic, but because it was thought to indicate a lukewarm feeling for the American cause. No official attention was paid to it, however.

More serious was the feeling caused late in 1775 by the Thanksgiving service of the year. Communication with Exeter, the seat of the New Hampshire Congress, was slow and uncertain, and notices of official fasts and thanksgivings were likely to be received only when the date fixed for their observance had passed. At this time, however, Wheelock in some way learned that Connecticut had set November 16th as the date for Thanksgiving and he accordingly celebrated the festivity on that day. It was then learned that the Congress of New Hampshire had appointed November 30th as the date. Some of the inhabitants of the village demanded that the Exeter proclamation should be obeyed. Wheelock would by no means consent to this action, and, having control of the place of meeting (the College Hall), was in a position to enforce his will. The agitation continued, however, and finally Wheelock consented to preach on that day; a service which was not to be regarded by him as a Thanksgiving, although such of his listeners as desired to do so could look upon it in that light. The sermon was entitled "No King but Christ in his Church" and the production was regarded by the Doctor as of such importance as to justify the expense of printing. The argument was of the type which we have come to expect. It was, in brief, that the original Thanksgiving could be looked upon as based on Christ's command. If another celebration should be held at a subsequent time out of respect for the authority of man, it could be regarded only as "an open affront to Christ and a bold invasion of his prerogative." This argument did not end the controversy. Wheelock's enemies accused him of disrespect for the provincial Congress and thereby for the Colonial cause. The gossip went to such lengths that official action was thought to be necessary. On January 2, 1776, the Committees of Safety of the towns of Han-

over and Lebanon convened to consider charges against the president to the effect that he had displayed an unfriendly feeling toward the Colonies and had spoken disrespectfully of the Congress of the Province. The committees reported that they

... could find not the least appearance of any ground for such a representation to be made of him more or better than envy & malice propense nor anything relative to the interests of the Colonies that could be the occasion of such a temper towards him other than his steady, prudent, unwearied and very successful endeavors to serve them.

The affair seemed of such importance, however, that the joint committee advised a meeting to which representatives of Plainfield and Cornish should also be summoned. The larger group came to a similar conclusion. It found that the reports were "wholly without grounds, malicious and in a very aggravated degree abusive." The importance of the college, "which may yet be our greatest security from an Invasion of Popish and Savage enemies," was emphasized and it was voted to publish the names of Wheelock's accusers. The document read as follows:

We proceed to inquire into said Case and on Evidence find that Mr. John Pain of Hanover in the County of Grafton and Colony of New Hampshire has been a principal author of those slanders respecting the Rev'd Dr. Wheelock, which reports are false and in their nature and tendency highly aggravated and injurious and the more so considering the Doctor's public Character and important Connections with the Seminary under his care, together with the tendency such reports have to stir up sedition and raise ferments among the people of this Colony in this critical situation of public Affairs, and we deem it our duty to use our utmost endeavors to suppress such injurious Conduct. And we hereby earnestly recommend it to s^d Pain to make full satisfaction equal to the above mentioned offenses.

It is evident that on this occasion the Doctor, for once, thoroughly got the better of his old opponent, although there is no record that he ever received the "full satisfaction" which was recommended.

From this time we hear of no further suspicions of Wheelock's loyalty.

In fact, upon one occasion he even contributed what he evidently considered to be material help to the cause. In 1777 the invasion of Burgoyne, with its threat of turning loose hordes of savages to destroy the new settlements, was a cause of extreme and well-justified perturbation to the inhabitants of the Connecticut valley. The Committees of Safety of the various towns in the region assembled at Windsor on July 15 to consider what should be done. To this meeting Wheelock sent a letter, giving his views on the crisis. He was very definite as to the cause of the difficulties under which the colonists were laboring: all of them came, he thought, from a lack of acceptance of the sovereignty of God. The remedy was to get God on their side, when there would be no further occasion for fear. As a practical method of attaining this desirable end he made five suggestions. (1) The appointment of a period for prayer, supplication and confession of sins. (2) The selection of a definite day for this purpose. (3) The renewal by the congregations of their covenants and oaths of allegiance to Christ. "Examples of this in such cases are numerous and have always been successful." (4) The setting up of a standard by all in authority, civil, military and religious, against vice, profanity and immorality. "Rulers are designed to be witnesses for God in the execution of their offices & when they perform their part effectually as in the case of Phineas he will turn away his wrath but for want of this he takes the work into his own hands and puts on vengeance for clothing & is clad with zeal as with a cloak." (5) While looking to God for direction, the provision for himself by every man of arms and ammunition for his protection, the adoption of all practical steps for defense, and the institution of proper measures for the safety of the college, the members of which, through lack of military supplies, are not able to look after themselves.

Despite the outbreak of the war and the financial and other difficulties with which the college was confronted as a result of it, the work continued much as usual during the spring and summer of 1775. Some tendency was shown by parents of the Indian boys to remove their children, or, at least, to call them home for visits. It

was highly important that this tendency should be discouraged and Wheelock, by the exercise of much tact, was enabled to accomplish that result and to retain the Canadian Indians, for the most part, until the main reason for their presence was over. Thus in 1777 ten of them were still in Hanover. In 1778, however, he had but four Indians from Canada, and at the time of his death in 1779 there were five from all sources in the school. In June, 1775, the first rumbles of the war were heard at the college. Incredible as it may seem, on June 16th Wheelock recorded in his diary, "The noise of Cannon Supposed to be at Boston was heard all day," and on the 17th, "The same report of Cannon. We wait with Impatience to hear the Occasion & Event." Letters written on these dates give the same information. The "event" turned out to be the battle of Bunker Hill. In the midst of Wheelock's financial perplexities and the disturbances resulting from the outbreak of war, a stirring religious revival spread through the college. Very likely his satisfaction at the rise of this movement outweighed the manifold discouragements under which he was oppressed. According to his statement, it spread to all the houses of the village except one (it takes no great stretch of the imagination to identify the exception as Payne's tavern) and later in the year its effects were still manifest. He wrote in October, "All vice is driven into corners and all iniquity stops his mouth. . . . My students (about an hundred) have had and appear cheerfully to improve an undisturbed opportunity to pursue their studies here in the Wilderness." In July the senior class asked that no public Commencement should be held at its graduation, on the ground that such festivities would have the effect of diverting the minds of the people of the neighborhood, now religiously inclined, from the "main object" and also that they were out of place in view of the existing state of public affairs. The junior and sophomore classes, upon being consulted, supported the petition and called for a "religious Commencement." The number of graduates was eleven, "all of them Christians." But five trustees attended the annual meeting; namely, Pomeroy and the four local members (Wheelock, Woodward, Burroughs and Paine), not a quorum. The board acted, however, upon a petition from certain students who were troubled at disturbances in the college, at the bad company which some of

their fellows kept and, in particular, at the disorders at Commencement. The first formal set of laws was drawn up, three sections of which relate to the subject of the petition, while the others are of a strictly practical nature. It seems worth while to summarize this code.

(1) *Laws forbidding students to frequent public houses shall be henceforth strictly observed as well on public occasions as at other times.*

(2) *Students shall avoid all connection with a "party" which has proved unwholesome to the morals of this seminary.*

(3) *No student shall treat public worship with disrespect.*

(4) *Independent scholars shall present sureties for payment of bills.*

(5) *No student shall receive a degree until all his bills are paid.*

(6) *Students boarding in hall shall have preference in rooms over those who do not.*

(7) *All students must serve "freshmanship" even if admitted after freshman year, or pay £10.*

(8) *Independent students must pay full tuition even if admitted after usual term and those absent must pay during that period the same as those present.*

(9) *Students late in returning after vacation must pay 5s. per week of absence.*

(10) *Students who board in hall must furnish their own knives, forks, cups, spoons, bowls and other utensils.*

(11) *No student shall carry to his room utensils from the kitchen.*

The college year 1775-1776 was less prosperous. During the fall and winter the attention of the British in Canada was fully occupied by the American invasion under Arnold and Montgomery. Ripley (as army chaplain) and a number of Wheelock's missionaries in their private capacities took advantage of the opportunity to visit the Canadian tribes and to combine activities for the school with service to the American cause. Ripley reported that the Caghawaga Indians (the most important center of Wheelock's influence) had distinguished themselves by their friendship for the American army, both in prosperity and adversity. The retirement

of the American forces from St. John in June, 1776, left the frontier open to invasion. The wildest alarm prevailed in the sparsely inhabited towns, settlers came pouring in from the outlying regions to the more populous centers, the militia was kept on the alert, and detachments were being constantly summoned to duty and sent on short abortive expeditions as a result of baseless rumors. For the next two or three years the Connecticut country was continually subject to these outbreaks of terror, some of them well-founded, but the majority based on idle report. As a result, the inhabitants were in a very jumpy state indeed. The college was not exempt from the contagion. In the spring of 1776 Ripley wrote to Wheelock, who was then in Connecticut, that the students were beginning to get uneasy. They said they could not study and were unable to defend themselves in case of invasion because of lack of arms and ammunition. The Doctor's absence from Hanover at so critical a period was excusable enough. In the first months of the year he had been so ill that in his own words "my life was dispaired of by almost all my acquaintances." He evidently departed for Connecticut the last of April or the first of May, in the hope of benefiting his health by a change of scene. On the natal day of the nation, July 4, 1776, he wrote from Hebron to his tutors that he was gradually recovering, although his strength was yet small, and was to start on his return journey the "following Monday." Later in the month he described himself as being in an "infirm and broken state." As a matter of fact, that was his condition for the remaining years of his life. From this time his correspondence, formerly so abundant, was limited to the most important matters and he seems to have concerned himself only with those affairs in the direction of which his personal attention was indispensable.

Under the troubled circumstances, it seemed desirable to close the college at an earlier period than usual. From Connecticut, on July 4, Wheelock wrote to Woodward, Ripley, John Wheelock and Smith, his tutors in Hanover, to arrange for a private Commencement on the fourth Wednesday in July. The members of the graduating class were to be informed of this change of time, to be told that they were to make as "good a literary appearance" as they could under the circumstances, and to see to it that their accounts were

settled. The trustees, also, were to be notified. This advancement of Commencement by one month and a similar but more extensive shortening of the term of instruction in the following year were the only interruptions that the college suffered during the war. The number of graduates was twelve. Again, a quorum of the board did not appear, much to Wheelock's disgust. An adjournment was taken until the second Tuesday in October. Wheelock wrote to John Phillips asking him to urge the trustees to attend this later meeting, as a vacancy in the board existed and "a failure of supplying Vacancies in this critical Juncture of Affairs will in all probability prove fatal to the college." He also stated that the trustees would encounter no danger by a journey to Hanover as "we have assurance in various ways that the Indians have received strict orders from the ministerial forces to interrupt none but such as are found in Arms warring against them." Just how these "assurances" came to Wheelock has never been revealed, John Phillips and Jaffrey did attend the October meeting and, with the five local members, made a quorum. Samuel Phillips of Andover, Massachusetts, was elected to the board in place of Peter Gilman, resigned.

College opened as usual in the fall of 1776, with a freshman class, smaller than in previous years, but larger than might have been expected under the circumstances. In 1777 came the invasion of Burgoyne's army, and with it the greatest threat to the Connecticut valley towns that developed during the war. Endless rumors were spread abroad, the militia was kept in a constant state of alarm and the inhabitants of the frontier towns never knew from one day to another how soon they were to become the victims of the savages. The tension was lessened by the victory of the New Hampshire militia under General Stark over a raiding party of the British at Bennington on August 16, but it was not entirely relieved until the surrender of the British general at Saratoga on October 17. The valley towns were not entirely satisfied with the protection given to them by the New Hampshire authorities and so, when Colonel Timothy Bedel of Haverhill was authorized by General Gates to raise a regiment, independent of the New Hampshire jurisdiction and directly under Continental auspices, enlistments were obtained without undue trouble. The ruling powers of New Hampshire,

particularly General Stark, were incensed at this move, and the story of the regiment becomes involved in the political complications among New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, the valley towns, and the Continental Congress which ensued; a tangle which we shall avoid so far as proper regard for a well-rounded story of the college will permit. Suffice it to say that the major of this regiment, soon to become lieutenant colonel, was John Wheelock, and that it was in active service in the Continental army that he completed his training for the office of president of the college. It added not a little to the anxiety which prevailed that the four Indian boys from the St. Francis tribe were suddenly withdrawn from the school, under circumstances which seemed to bear an ominous meaning. During this year the college shared in the excitement and terror of the community. According to Joseph Vail, a graduate in the class of 1778, there was so much confusion among the students and so much apprehension on the part of the teachers that college exercises were often interrupted and in several instances suspended. Students were frequently sent for by their parents or were called to serve in the militia, while some of them left to enter the Continental army. Commencement was again set forward, this time to May; the last of the interruptions which the college suffered during the war. The number of graduates was twelve. Despite the disturbed conditions of the times, the most exciting event of the year, so far as the college was concerned, was a bitter quarrel which broke out between the president and the authorities of the town over what seems, in comparison to the great events of the day, a very trivial affair indeed.

It had to do with smallpox. Apparently Wheelock was in great terror of this disease. In fact one of the reasons stated by him for not undertaking the English mission was his fear that he would contract the malady in the mother country. At that time the only means of protection was inoculation, by which the patient was purposely infected with the virus of the disease. The result was a genuine case of smallpox, supposed to be mild in character and, of course, effective in protecting the patient from further attacks. In general, that was the way it did work, although sometimes the artificially induced malady was fatal. In any case the patient was ill of small-

pox, which could be communicated from him to others, and his illness, if carelessly handled, was liable to result in wide infection of the community. The question of inoculation was thus of general public interest and the process necessarily subject to community control. With the fear of the disease so widespread, with such differences as existed in the attitude both of the ignorant and of the enlightened toward the subject of inoculation, with the spirit of individual independence characteristic of settlers on the frontier and with the lack of effective sanitary regulation, it is not strange that the question was often a cause of heated dissension and controversy.

As early as August, 1776, Wheelock was involved in a quarrel with Dr. Laban Gates, who had inoculated a student without authority from anyone (except the student) to undertake the process. Upon the physician Wheelock descended with a fulminating indictment, accusing him of endangering the lives of members of the school and of the community, and, particularly, of the president and his wife, "who from their age and infirmities could scarcely recover should they have the disease," all in a heedless way, Gates himself not having had the malady, and having no experience in its treatment. The medical man admitted that he had acted hastily, he promised not to repeat the offense, and apparently the infected student did not actually take the disease, so the matter was ended.

As a result of the war, however, smallpox was very prevalent, and many members of the student body and others of the community were extremely desirous of the protection which inoculation would afford. On January 8, 1777, a petition was received from eight students, who claimed to have been exposed to smallpox, asking to be permitted to receive inoculation and to be accommodated during their illness at the mill, a mile and half from any dwelling. Accompanying this petition was a statement signed by fifteen dwellers in the village, including all the tutors and, curiously enough, John Payne, approving the request and recommending favorable action upon it, provided, however, that the quarantine should be under the charge of a committee named in the document, that no one be allowed to visit the mill without the consent of the committee, nor to return from it without being "cleaned" to the committee's satis-

faction, that the road leading to the mill be fenced at the top of the hill and a notification posted at that point, and that the college enact a law binding the students to the observance of these conditions. This petition was favorably received, permission for the inoculation was granted and the students betook themselves to the mill for the ordeal. One room in the structure, however, was reserved for the president and his wife. Wheelock evidently was of the opinion that he, also, had been exposed to the disease, or, at any rate, he was determined to run no risks.

The details of the quarrel which followed are not entirely clear, although the general course of it is obvious enough. Apparently other persons in Hanover were desirous of being inoculated, at the hands of a physician named George Eager. There must also have been opposition to the process for, after a week had elapsed, the selectmen forbade any further inoculations. Two of the students, relying on Wheelock's permission, disobeyed this edict, were inoculated at the mill and remained there awaiting results. The Committee of Safety, with a degree of folly which did not usually mark its proceedings, ordered the two students back to Hanover to be immured in Woodward's house until it should be learned whether or not they had actually taken the disease. The selectmen and the committee were now confronted with the necessity of supervising the process both for students and villagers. They apparently determined that the two classes should be treated alike. Two choices were before them. One was to remove both groups to a hut already provided in Lyme (Wheelock says, in the Lebanon woods) eight miles away, where the accommodations were of the most primitive order. The alternative was to take over the house at the mill, where smallpox already existed, for the accommodation both of townspeople and of students. The second course of action seemed the more sensible and accordingly that is what the authorities did, reserving, however, one room for Wheelock and his wife, should they contract the disease.

The wrath of the Doctor at this action was extreme. In an *ex-parte* statement, made some months later, he reviewed the decision and commented scathingly upon its unfairness. He inquired whether

the town had the right, after the college had provided comfortable, convenient and inexpensive quarters, installed a suitable physician etc., to demand either that the inoculated students should be moved eight miles to a wet uncomfortable hospital or that any resident of Hanover should be admitted into the house provided by the college for its own members. Had they the right to place such non-members of the college in the room reserved for the president (incidentally this seems not to have been true), this proceeding being based upon no other reason than, if it were not done, the students would be better looked after than the townspeople? Had they the right to order back into the village, in opposition to the college laws entailing the penalty of expulsion for such return, two students who had received inoculation and thereby run the risk of spreading the disease? Had they the right to forbid those appointed by the president to act as nurses for students to attend to that duty and to appoint their own agents for the purpose? Had they the right to crowd in a doctor in whom the college had no confidence and whom the students had been ordered to avoid? Had they the right to forbid the president, his steward or other college officers, access to those under their charge? But back of all these questions of detail was the fundamental one of authority. Was the domination of town over the college to be complete, or did the charter endow the institution with the immunities commonly enjoyed by British universities, and thus put it beyond the control of the civil authority? Wheelock was convinced that the latter was the correct interpretation of the rights of the institution. He regarded the matter, therefore, as rising above the details of the relatively petty affair (irritating as that was to him) with which the controversy started, to the dignity of a question of fundamental charter interpretation. With this principle in mind he was determined to fight the issue through.

It was of course a silly squabble and one which Wheelock, in his earlier years, would never have allowed to become of such significance. If he had applied to it a measure of the tact, of which formerly he had so abundant a store, he would probably have won all the essentials for which he stood without a serious controversy.

Certainly the principle which he advanced seems to us almost grotesque, although the details of the difficulty may have been irritating enough. But he was old and ill, perhaps tired of being tactful, and obstinate in his adherence to what he thought was an issue of fundamental importance. Nor was his temper assuaged by some of the statements made to him by his opponents. When he was told by someone in authority, "We will take your mansion house for a hospital if we see fit," his frame of mind may well be imagined.

Unfortunately for him he entered the controversy with divided forces. The selectmen of Hanover were involved in the matter, but the direct management of it was in the hands of the Committee of Safety. Of the three members of this group, one was Aaron Storrs, his own business agent and bookkeeper, while the second was a person of no smaller importance than Bezaleel Woodward, his son-in-law, long his trusted assistant, tutor in the college and a member of the Board of Trustees. The controversy thus assumed the aspect of a family quarrel.

Wheelock's first move gave little evidence of the keen mentality which formerly marked his undertakings. It was no less radical a scheme than to remove the college from the jurisdiction of New Hampshire. The great estate of Sir William Johnson, left by him to his son, had now been alienated to the state by the adherence of that young man to the British cause. The suggestion came from Wheelock that a large tract of this land might be secured to the college, with the mansion house, Johnson Hall, as the seat of the institution. On March 13, 1777, he broached the matter to Robert Livingston and George Morris, leaders of the patriot party in New York. His plan was to move himself and his college to New York, leaving a Vice President in Hanover to hold the New Hampshire lands and to maintain at that point the Indian charity school. A new charter was to be obtained from New York, with an independent set of trustees, and the two trusts were to work in harmony in maintaining the interests of the twin institutions. As an explanation for the contemplated change, he asserted that New Hampshire, as a province, had done little for the college and that the institution, in the main, was still his personal undertaking. Livingston, in reply, expressed his interest in the proposal, but thought it doubtful if

anything could be accomplished, especially in the matter of charter. There really was never any hope of favorable action by the New York authorities, although it seems clear that, in the frame of mind in which Wheelock then was, he would really have ventured upon a second removal had the way opened before him.

He also made an attempt to utilize the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In June, 1777, he filed a complaint with the Grafton Presbytery against Capt. David Woodward, Capt. Aaron Storrs, Lieut. Jonathan Freeman, Dr. John Fowler and Bezaleel Woodward, Esq., for violation of the fifth, sixth and eighth commandments: viz. of the fifth by meddling with the authority of the president of the college as set forth by royal charter; of the sixth on the same grounds; of the eighth, by forcibly seizing a house belonging to the college for use as a hospital. No record has come to us that the Presbytery took any action in the matter.

For any real offensive, however, the Doctor required the co-operation of the trustees. He had on his side the student body, the tutors (except Woodward) and probably the local trustees (Woodward again excepted). He called the first of these groups to his assistance. On the 25th of March a petition relating to the difficulty was received from the senior class. From the evidence of its style either Wheelock wrote it himself or else his students, after four years of association with him, had become so imbued with his turns of expression that they unconsciously adopted them as their own. The document begun with an indictment:

The inhabitants of this town of late in their Votes and proceedings relative to the Affair of the smallpox have most injuriously encroached upon the privileges and immunities of this College—insulted the jurisdiction of the Trustees—and reproached your character as President. Which conduct, if passed over in silence, will invalidate the whole Authority of this Institution, Diminish its honors, and finally destroy all its immunities.

They then proceeded to demand satisfaction in respect to the maintenance of rights of the college or, in the event that should not be granted, they asked for dismissal and recommendation to another institution:

... for if the Rights and privileges of this College cannot be asserted and maintained in a manner superior to what they have been this Winter past, we think a Diploma granted here not worth the reception.

Provided with this ammunition, the president called a meeting of the board for May 20, and informed the members that the most important business before the meeting was the consideration of the senior memorial and of his own protest against the arbitrary action of the town of Hanover. He regarded it as of the utmost importance for the board at once to take such action as would support the honor and dignity of the college.

This communication put the Portsmouth trustees into something of a quandary. They were evidently convinced that the president was in the wrong in the controversy, but they were reluctant to oppose a man so old and so ill, and whose services and devotion to the college they held in such high regard. They met the dilemma by not appearing at the meeting, the threatened British attack on Portsmouth offering them a convenient excuse. Wheelock at once called another meeting for July 29, at which he urgently asked for the attendance of the three Portsmouth trustees necessary to make a quorum. Sherburne wrote that he could not come. He was in the midst of the haying season, he had thirty acres to cut and laborers were scarce, besides the British were expected to attack Portsmouth almost any day. Jaffrey, having learned that Phillips and Sherburne were not coming, thought it useless for him to make the journey. As a matter of fact, the two Phillipses did appear and, with the local members, Wheelock, Woodward, Burroughs, Paine and Ripley, made the necessary seven for the consideration of ordinary business, but when the smallpox issue arose, Woodward of course retired, and again no quorum was present. In exasperation, Wheelock persuaded the board after a long debate (the two Phillipses must have objected to this action) to "excuse" Sherburne from further service and to elect David McClure, now of North Hampton, N. H., in his place. Still undaunted he called another meeting for October.

At this juncture kindly John Phillips attempted to assuage the indignation of the Doctor. In a letter dated October 8 he advised him to allow the matter to drop. He admitted that undoubtedly Wheelock had sufficient reason for exasperation, but he felt that the Doctor was enough of a Christian to forgive those offences. While the character of the powers conferred on the college by charter was a matter about which a division of feeling existed, he found that the greater number of those competent to express an opinion were not inclined to believe that these powers reached so far as Wheelock would carry them. In any case, contention over the issue was very likely to damage the institution. And he concluded with a compliment to both parties of the controversy:

I shall not presume to advise those whose advice I ought rather to hear with the patience & humility of a Mr. Woodward which if possible were as much noticed as the great abilities of his venerable Monitor.

In reply to this tactful effort he received a long and indignant answer from Wheelock who scathingly inquired how it was possible for Phillips and the Portsmouth trustees to judge the question properly without having all the evidence before them. He then entered into a detailed defense of his own position. There was, however, no quorum at the October meeting. At the regular meeting of the board a year later, on August, 1778, the matter was still placed by Wheelock among the items of business to be considered. There is no record that any action was taken. Probably the Doctor was too ill to care.

With the beginning of the year 1777-1778 the effects of the war began to be more strikingly evident. John Smith, who had temporarily retired from his work at Hanover, expressed his regret at learning that the numbers in college had so much fallen off, but he added, consolingly, that "Yale is in a broken state." At the beginning of the year the trustees for the first time took definite action in fixing the prices charged to students for the facilities of the college. Board was reckoned on a sliding scale. It was set at six shillings a week when the provisions stood at the certain established values, and was to rise and fall with the prices of these commodities. It

might be paid in provisions, if suitable notice was given. The board expressed the opinion that, under this arrangement, the charge for board, for the time being, could not amount to less than 10s. a week. It was also ruled that each student should pay 6s. a quarter for his study room (except that lower rooms and interior garrets were priced at 4s.). Tuition was 25s. a quarter. Students living out of college were required to pay study rental so long as rooms in the college buildings remained unoccupied. The time was one of extreme scarcity. Wheelock wrote to his son John, then with General Gates' army, that he had heard "Mr. Burgoin has yielded himself prisoner of war," and hoped, as a result, that John could get hold of a farmer for the college. Laborers, he said, were very scarce and so was clothing. The Indian boys were in sad want and Wheelock needed a great-coat for himself. His younger son, Eleazar, was also an officer, on recruiting service, and vexed his father by enlisting some of the latter's much-needed laborers. In April, 1778, the Doctor expressed unusual discouragement in a letter to the trustees:

We are at present in some Respects under the righteous Frowns of heaven, a long & severe winter, failing of Fodder for cattle who are most of them very poor & many die, such a large body of Snow yet in all our Meadows which insures Scarcity of breadcorn, the exorbitant price the Country seems yet agreed to hold Provisions at, insomuch that the Students will likely think of Seeking their education where they may have it cheaper, which event as to many I think will take place unless this country should agree to the public Statement etc.—great want of cloathing—an unsettled state of civil affairs—and also how few who See & properly acknowledge the Hand of God.

During this year the first professor was appointed in the college. John Smith, a graduate in the class of 1773, was much esteemed for his scholastic acquirements, particularly in the languages. During his senior year he had attracted attention by compiling grammars of the Hebrew and Chaldee languages, although the latter of these works was never published and the former only after the lapse of many years. After graduation, he had remained with the college as a tutor, although, apparently, not under obligations to Wheelock

as a charity student. In 1777 he felt that he could no longer continue to serve (as was the arrangement with tutors) for a compensation of no stated value and thus left the college. Wheelock soon found that he could not do without him. His son, John, was in the army and Bezaleel Woodward had left his teaching position, temporarily, to engage in political activity. So he summoned Smith back as "Professor of English, Latin, Greek, Chaldee, etc., and such other languages as he shall have time for." He was also to serve as tutor. As compensation for these services he was promised a salary of £100 *per annum*, half in money, half in goods at pre-war prices. Wheelock found it impossible to pay this salary in full, and the amount was reduced the following year, with Smith's consent, to £75. The new professor was also given an acre of land as a building site. We shall hear much of him as we proceed.

During this depressing period Wheelock's health seems steadily to have declined. In October, 1777, he wrote:

I have long been in a Broken State of Health though by the Goodness of God I hope in the main a little on the gaining Hand. I have been able to preach with much difficulty about half the Time, and generally to pray in the Hall at Evening and discourse to my Students & Such as are disposed to attend about half an hour.

He was apparently well enough, however, to preside at the Commencement exercises, which in 1778, for the first time in three years, were held at the regular period, the last week in August. The number of graduates reached seventeen, the highest point it had yet attained. The business which confronted the trustees at this last meeting of Wheelock's presidency was evidently considerable in quantity, requiring sessions of the board on five separate days. With commendable industry, the group assembled each morning at seven. The most important item was the engagement of a steward, to take charge of the eating facilities of the institution, and to assume also the responsibility for the management of college lands. Much earlier, Governor Wentworth had urged upon Wheelock that he should relieve himself of the details of management by securing such an officer. The Doctor thought that the college could not as yet afford the expense and so continued to burden himself

with the business, which proved, as we have seen, a great source of anxiety and perplexity to him. Now his physical condition no longer permitted him to continue such service and he made arrangements with Capt. Ebenezer Brewster to take over the management of these affairs. This agreement was confirmed by the board. The new steward was to buy provisions and other supplies, take charge of the cooking and management of the dining hall, collect from the students all college bills and, in turn, was to receive from them the amount expended for provisions, the preparation and serving of the food and, in addition, for the work of management, eight shillings a quarter from each student if the number in commons should be greater than fifty and ten shillings if it should become less than that. In addition, Brewster took over all the cleared land belonging to the institution. Evidently during the time of scarcity, after the exhaustion of the English fund, much of it had lapsed into a wild state, for the total extent of the various parcels assigned to Brewster amounted to but eighty acres. The greater part of the arable land was in the lower valley of Mink Brook. The rental for the whole tract was fixed at £62 *per annum*, a quarter of which was to be laid out in fencing and clearing so long as might be necessary.

Not only was the country disturbed at this time by the prevalence of war, but local political disputes brought about a state of tension which seemed, perhaps, to be of even higher importance to the parties involved than the national issues that were at stake. It is not our purpose to enter into this tangled web of intrigue more than is necessary to indicate its effect upon the progress of the college. The trouble originated in the headstrong conduct of Governor Benning Wentworth who, years before, had assumed authority to award grants of land in the territory west of the Connecticut which was claimed by New York. His authority to take such action was repudiated by an order of the king in Council dated July 20, 1764; a decree which fixed the line between New Hampshire and New York as the western bank of the Connecticut River. Probably no one excepting Wentworth would have concerned himself about the matter if New York had not attempted to re-grant the lands already occupied and forcibly to dispossess those who derived their titles

from the New Hampshire governor. That action was resisted by the settlers in the disputed territory, particularly by those in the vicinity of Bennington, a group composed of individuals by no means gentle in their methods of controversy, who subjected the invading officers from New York to very severe treatment indeed. The dispute had been allowed to run on, with the settlers in the grants still in possession, until war gave an opportunity for the creation of disturbances which the parties in question thought might be turned to their own advantage.

With the outbreak of the Revolution and the setting up of the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire at Exeter, the towns in the upper Connecticut valley, east of the river, also felt themselves seriously aggrieved. In 1776, instead of being awarded a representative for each township, as was the common custom, they were classed in districts and to the whole of Grafton County was assigned but six members. For example, the towns of Hanover, Lebanon, Relham (Enfield), Canaan, Cardigan (Orange) and Grafton were classed together and permitted to send but a single representative for the group. Most of the townships, feeling themselves much aggrieved, sent none at all. The protests of the dissatisfied towns were contemptuously ignored by the New Hampshire authorities and the resentment felt by them was a direct cause of their entry, as a contending factor, into the controversy centering around the New Hampshire Grants.

There were four parties in the struggle. New York seemed to have the best legal title to the disputed territory, on the basis of the king's order in Council, but at the time the king's authority was rather at a discount. For the most part, the New York Party limited its participation in the quarrel to representations to the Continental Congress and to intrigues to achieve its purpose by measures coming from that body. The leaders of the party occupying the western part of the Grants, beyond the Green Mountains, were the two Allens, Ethan and Ira, and Thomas Chittenden, a faction usually termed the Bennington Party. Its members knew exactly what they wanted (namely a new state in that region), their determination to attain their ends was of admirable inflexibility and their idea of ethical methods suitable to employ in the process was

far from being an obstacle to their success. In fact, Ira Allen, their leader in the negotiations, showed himself ready to adopt any expedient, however it might savor of trickery, chicanery or bad faith, to serve his cause. His conduct in the negotiations was singularly adroit, and his opponents, in comparison, appeared like children in the intrigues which were carried on. The Bennington leaders were not only anxious to obtain a new state, but were concerned that its center should not be too far away from their own region, with a resulting diminution of their prestige. Consequently they never were enthusiastic for the extension of the boundaries of the new commonwealth too far to the east. The third group was made up of the official representatives of New Hampshire, commonly called the Exeter Party. Some division existed among these leaders, but a goodly portion of them were friendly to the Allens and much under their influence. They, too, were reluctant to have the territory of New Hampshire extend so far from their own region that the center and capital would, of necessity, be removed to the west. The fourth party was composed of the dwellers in the towns on both sides of the river in the upper Connecticut valley. These communities were settled by friends and neighbors from Connecticut, persons forming a homogeneous group with common interests. They were separated both from Exeter and from Bennington by mountainous barriers at that time difficult of passage. The inhabitants of these towns had little in common with any of the other parties, and would be best served by an arrangement of state lines which should bring the center of population into the valley with the capital located in Hanover itself. The leaders of this group were residents of the region around the college town. Bezaleel Woodward was among the most conspicuous of them and was always charged with the duty of drafting the numerous documents produced by the party. In general, they were equal in ability to any of their apponents, but they were sadly deficient in their capacity for intrigue and tricky manipulation, as the sequel will show. The group, because it was centered in Hanover and was assumed to be inspired by the college, was called the College Party. It will be seen that obvious self-interest and considerations largely based on the accidents of geography were the basic factors in the controversy.

The details of the struggle can be given only in barest outline. On January 15, 1777, the "free and independent state" of New Connecticut, embracing the western part of the New Hampshire grants, was set up by a convention held at Westminster. On June 4, at Windsor, the name was changed to Vermont. The river towns east of the Connecticut, despairing of relief of their grievances in regard to representation at the hands of the New Hampshire Congress, determined to join the new state. On March 17, 1778, the Vermont assembly at Windsor voted to accept sixteen towns east of the river, extending from Cornish to Lisbon, with the stipulation that the vote must be ratified by the inhabitants of the towns in question, and also by those of the towns of Vermont. The ratification was secured with little opposition and on June 11 the assembly, by a vote of 37 to 12, completed the arrangement and admitted as members the representatives of the New Hampshire towns. In the meantime, on February 19, 1778, the inhabitants of those portions of Hanover and Lebanon in the neighborhood of the college set themselves up as a new town under the name of Dartmouth. The towns from which they were seceding made no objection, but it was learned that a community in the northern part of the state (now Jefferson) had adopted the chosen name and so, for some inexplicable reason, the name Dresden was substituted. Thus Dartmouth College, instead of being located in Hanover, N. H., was to be addressed at Dresden, Vermont.

To the Bennington Party a union which brought the center of the new state so far to the east was entirely objectionable, except as it gave them an important card to play in the diplomatic game. It is evident that they never had the intention of maintaining claims to the New Hampshire territory, and with cynical disregard of good faith toward the towns which had joined them, they set to work to use them merely as pawns in the game of intrigue, at any time to be sacrificed if necessary to gain their own ends. Ethan Allen was sent to present the case of Vermont to the Continental Congress and to ask for recognition from that body. He apparently entered into an agreement with the New Hampshire representatives at Philadelphia by the terms of which no opposition to recognition was to be presented by that state if Vermont would abandon her pretensions

to the disputed towns. At any rate, on October 8, he reported to the Vermont assembly, held at Windsor, that the only bar to recognition was the presence in their fold of these communities. The union, nevertheless, was sustained by a vote of the assembly on October 20, but the very next day the separation was effectively brought about by refusal of the legislature to extend beyond the river any form of county organization. In great indignation, all the New Hampshire towns and, in addition, ten of those west of the river withdrew from the union. At an adjourned meeting of the Vermont legislature, held in Bennington on February 12, 1779, the relation was formally dissolved. The Allens had gained their point. As a result, Dartmouth College was still in Dresden, but so far as could be ascertained, in no state whatsoever.

The contest, however, was not yet over. The position of the embryo commonwealth of Vermont was not yet sufficiently assured to make entirely nugatory the efforts of the College Party. The dissatisfied towns turned to New Hampshire with an appeal that she should extend her claim for jurisdiction over the whole territory covered by Vermont. The Congress, however, was very lukewarm toward the plea. It did file a perfunctory claim to that effect with the Continental Congress, but marred the force of it by referring vaguely in it to a "new state." Ira Allen was in Exeter at the time and his influence upon the New Hampshire leaders was very apparent. The matter was now referred to the Continental Congress. That body appointed an investigating committee, two members of which came into the disputed territory. The report, mainly in favor of the New York claims (it was alleged to have been packed for that purpose), appears never to have been filed. On September 24, 1779, Congress passed a resolution promising a definite settlement within a year and ordering all the parties concerned to keep their hands off the disputed territory in the meantime. The College Party sent Woodward and Colonel Peter Olcott of Norwich to Philadelphia to represent their interests. In their instructions they were ordered to press a new claim, namely for an independent state within the valley, but, if that could not be obtained, for a boundary between New Hampshire and New York on the line of the Green Mountains. The agents remained in the capital from January to

September, 1780, but Congress continued to delay its promised decision. The Exeter representatives were of very little assistance to these envoys, while the Bennington representatives, when matters seemed likely to go against them, went home, thus by their absence affording Congress an excuse for a dilatory policy.

At this point the struggle entered another phase. The southern New Hampshire valley towns, which up to this time had taken no part in the controversy, were now stirred by the prospect that the boundary might be fixed at the river, and became indignant at the conduct of the New Hampshire leaders in tacitly favoring that policy. They made such vigorous complaints, that the attitude of New Hampshire became much more decided, and, as a result, delegates from that state, favorable to aggressive action, were sent to Philadelphia. Moreover, a convention of the interested towns was summoned to meet at Charlestown on January 16, 1781, to consider questions of policy. It was attended by representatives of forty-three towns on both sides of the river. The leadership of the movement had now passed from the College Party to the representatives of Cheshire county. The policy which seemed most advantageous to the valley was to make the Green Mountains the boundary between New York and New Hampshire, and thus to squeeze Vermont out entirely. That solution was now acceptable to New Hampshire, to the valley towns, and to New York. Had it been adopted by the convention, it probably would have prevailed in Congress and Vermont might never have existed. But Ira Allen was a member of the convention, ostensibly representing the towns of Sunderland. By what magic he was able to impose his will on the body is entirely without explanation, but that is what he did. Holding up a motion favorable to the plan stated above when that measure seemed about to prevail, under pretence of making desirable changes in wording, in the interval thus gained he brought pressure of one kind or another to bear upon the delegates so that eventually a motion exactly opposite in character to the one outlined above was passed. As a result of it, the convention recommended that the towns represented therein should join Vermont. The simplicity of the leaders of the valley party in thus trusting again to the faith of Vermont seems beyond belief. The union was completed at a session of the

Vermont legislature held at Windsor on February 8, 1781. Thirty-four towns from the region east of the river became a part of the new state. County organization was completed, judicial officers were appointed, Elisha Payne of Lebanon was made Deputy Governor of the state and the legislature met on the east side of the river at Charlestown. Dartmouth College was once more located in Dresden, Vermont.

This action, of course, marked the beginning of the end. Representatives from Vermont, one of whom was Woodward, were once more sent to Congress to plead for recognition. Allen had cynically added to the claims of Vermont a demand for a strip of territory, twenty miles wide, to the west, the undisputed territory of New York. The case for Congress to decide was now an easy one. On August 20, 1781, it resolved that, as an indispensable preliminary to recognition of the new state, that commonwealth must abandon all claims to disputed territory to the west and east, the property of New York and New Hampshire. The legislature of Vermont, meeting on October 11 in Charlestown, refused to consent to these terms, but at an adjourned session at Bennington in January, 1782, the situation was different. The meeting was held in the dead of winter, at a spot in the extreme southwest corner of the state, so remote that but few representatives of the valley towns could be present. Just before this, Governor Chittenden, in an attempt to justify to General Washington his secret correspondence with the British, had taken occasion to speak of the annexation of New Hampshire towns as a "political manoeuvre projected by the cabinet of Vermont to quiet some of her own internal divisions occasioned by the machinations of New Hampshire and New York and to make them experience the evils of intestine broils and strengthen this State against insult." As was expected, this communication called forth a reply from the General and the legislature was thus confronted with a letter from Washington which strongly advised submission to the decision of Congress, with the implication that such action would pave the way to recognition. On February 20 a resolution dissolving the connection for the second time was passed by the legislature. That ended the matter, except for the efforts of the recalcitrant New Hampshire towns to appease the authorities of their own state, now

in a very unyielding frame of mind. Dartmouth College was once more and finally located at Hanover, New Hampshire. Some measure of justice was meted out to the Vermont leaders by the refusal of Congress, despite all that had been done, to award immediate recognition to their state. That action was not actually taken until eight years had elapsed.

Perhaps the impatient reader will ask what this complicated story of intrigue has to do with the history of the college. In the minds of those who participated in the struggle the relation was obvious enough. In the early stages of the quarrel the action of the rebellious New Hampshire towns was supposed to be inspired by the institution and the moving force of the movement supplied by those associated with the college. Although Woodward had resigned his tutorship as soon as he began to engage actively in politics, he retained his position as trustee and was generally regarded as acting simply as the agent of the college interest. It was the common opinion that Wheelock was ambitious to erect in the Connecticut valley the metropolis and capital of a new state, which would increase the prestige of his educational institutions and his own prestige as their founder. Just how far this suspicion is justified is impossible to determine. There seems to be little question that the president shared the opinions of his neighbors, who despite their other dissensions, were unanimous in the common cause.

On the other hand, it is clear that his official attitude was eminently correct and his position, in public, one of entire neutrality and non-interference. When he incautiously attended a meeting of disaffected parties in 1777, merely from motives of curiosity, he felt called upon to inform the New Hampshire assembly that his presence there should not be interpreted to mean that he was taking sides in the matter. It is true that, when the first union with Vermont took place, he presented a memorial to the legislature of that state asking that the college should be taken under its protection. He also proposed that branch institutions should be set up in the Vermont territory, to be supported by returns coming from the confiscation of glebe lands originally granted to the Church of England. That action, however, was taken after the politicians had had their say; he merely acquiesced in the results which they set before

him. In general, whatever may have been his private convictions, his public attitude was entirely non-partisan, as was that, later in the controversy, of his successor, John Wheelock. There is even some evidence that the first president was not entirely pleased with the political activities of Woodward. At any rate, his other son-in-law, Sylvanus Ripley, conveys the impression that all was not harmony in the family upon this issue. The main reference in the extract below is to the smallpox dispute, but the political activity of his lieutenant forms a part of the complaint. Writing to David McClure on October 25, 1777, Ripley said:

I begin more & more to think of the inexpediency of Officer's of the College acting as Committees etc. especially when they are furnished with a two-edged Sword with the one to strike against the state and disaffect that against the College and with the other to strike against what were supposed to be the inherent rights & privileges of the college.

However correct his attitude may have been, Wheelock could not turn away from the college the odium of having engaged in political manipulations. In southeastern New Hampshire, the seat of political power, the prestige of the institution was none too high in any case, and the course of this controversy was not one which tended to improve it. This distrust is indicated by a clause in the first state constitution of New Hampshire, adopted by the people in 1784, which provided that "no president, professor or instructor in any college shall have a seat in either House of the Legislature or in the Council." This provision was not changed until 1792. The feeling against the institution was a factor adverse to its prosperity for many years to come.

One of the by-products of the Vermont controversy was the establishment in Hanover of a printing press, the first in the region. The new state required some method of making public its documents and the college, also, could use to advantage the facilities of a press. Wheelock determined to seize the opportunity. On March 30, 1778, he wrote to Benjamin Pomeroy, in Hebron, asking him to secure a trained printer, with the promise that, if he came to Hanover, he might expect appointment as state printer of Vermont. Wheelock

stressed the necessity of haste, pointing out that the people on the other side of the mountains were desirous of obtaining the office for that region, should a man become available, where he would be of no value to the college. As a result of these negotiations, Alden Spooner of Norwich, Connecticut, soon came to Hanover, bringing with him suitable equipment, and by October the plant was in active operation. To Spooner was given a half-acre of land located on the east side of what is now Main Street, south of the Inn. He brought to Hanover a historic mechanism; none other than a Daye press, imported from England in 1639, the first to be brought into New England, upon which was printed the Bay Psalm Book and Eliot's Indian Bible. It is now in the rooms of the Vermont Historical Society at Montpelier. On May 4, 1779, Spooner issued the first newspaper in the new country, the *Dresden Mercury*, and a number of pamphlets, now excessively rare, also bear the imprint of the "Dresden Press." After the settlement of the controversy, with the Bennington Party in the ascendancy, the printer moved to Windsor, Vermont.

Just how the college was maintained during this trying period of warfare, domestic contention and poverty is difficult to learn. Wheelock's letters became progressively less numerous as his bodily infirmities increased, but they give abundant evidence of the dire financial stress under which he worked. Early in 1778 he sold most of his Connecticut lands, receiving for them about £1250, a price far below the estimate of their value in former years. Probably the proceeds of the sale were applied to pay his debts. In a letter to John Phillips in April, 1778, he tells a moving tale of poverty:

My family & School are in want of Cloathing, your generous Nephew Sent Seasonable relief to Some of my Charity Schollars as to woolen, but the necessity remains not less as to linnen; to supply which we have cut up all the Sheets Table Cloths under beds Towels &c which could be spared in the House, to cover their nakedness, and have now Scarce a whole linnen garment in the house and most of them Such as you would not think worth taking from the floor unless for a papermill.

Early in 1778, in anticipation of the end, he began to assemble his accounts. On April 9 he wrote to the trustees, stressing the difficulty of disentangling his private transactions from those of the institution and the impossibility of doing so in any accurate way, but saying that finally he had got together the accounts as best he could and was to ask a committee of disinterested persons to examine them. The auditors, Major Jonathan Childs of Lyme, Colonel Peter Olcott of Norwich and Nehemiah Estabrook of Lebanon, reported on August 25 that, upon crediting Wheelock with the money advanced by him to the school since 1770 and charging to him the funds used for the support of his family, the institution appeared to be indebted to the president in the sum of £1747.19.7½. The report thus reveals in some measure the nature of the resources which kept the college on its feet in these trying years. It was regarded by the trustees as acceptable and was approved by them.

Wheelock's course was nearly run. In March, 1778, he wrote to Pomeroy "I am thro' the pure mercy of God able to walk a little." Probably that is an understatement, as at this time there is evidence that he was still capable of some outdoor activity. He had long suffered from asthma, but in January, 1779, he had what is described as a severe seizure of epilepsy. It was evident that the end was near at hand. On the 29th of March, 1779, he wrote a pathetic letter to his old friend Whitaker:

My dear Sir I believe there is no man on earth I have a greater desire to see than you & converse freely on a variety of very important subjects, but likely I shall never have the opportunity unless you can find it in your way to make me a visit. I have been a long time in a very low state and my case of late has been esteemed desperate by my Physicians but, by the pure mercy of God, I am so far revived as to be able assisted more than by my staff to walk from my bed to the fire and back again and to sit in my chair near half my time. My outward circumstances are not favorable to such a state of weakness in that they don't nor can't afford me a diet as experience teaches and my Physicians assure me to be quite necessary for me. I have near or quite run through the little store I left in Connecticut in supporting this school and have yet but small means of subsist-

ence more than the remains of my principal and now feel more than ever the want of a pension which I think the world owes me with which I might buy a cask of Wine & other suitable spirits which my Physicians all devise to be necessary to me, also Coffee, Chocolate, Tea &c, &c. which I am obliged to live wholly without for want of money to purchase the same . . . While I enjoyed a good state of health I was content with my plain way of living but I find now the case to be very different.

He was not long to endure the weariness which was now his daily lot. He died on April 24, 1779, in the 69th year of his age. Ripley announced the event to McClure in these words:

You have doubtless heard of the great breach upon our college in the Death of the President and Founder of it. His Death, tho' long expected was sudden and unexpected at the last. He had but a few moments warning before he expired. May God sanctify it to us all. Thus the Pillars in the Churches are departing in succession one after another.

His funeral was held on the Monday ensuing, when "a numerous concourse of people convened and a Sermon suited to the occasion was preached by the Reverend Eden Burroughs." When he heard the news, Benjamin Pomeroy, though old, infirm and nearly blind, responded to the call to fulfill the last obligation of a friendship formed at Yale fifty years before and which had continued without a break through the intervening years. He made the long journey from Connecticut, and in a memorial service, attended by the students and friends of the institution, pronounced the final benediction on the founder of the college.

By Wheelock's will his lands in Hanover were distributed to his children. To each of the two daughters, now residing in that community, were left 100 acres, to his four sons, 200 acres each. His house was bequeathed to his son, John, who, in return, was obligated to care for his mother. To his two remaining daughters was bequeathed, jointly, the house in Connecticut where he had lived so long, and the land adjacent to it. The college was in his debt in the sum of more than £1700. It was provided that from the interest

on this amount £50 should be paid annually to his helpless son, Ralph, while the remainder was given to Wheelock's widow. Upon their deaths the principal was to become the property of the college, to be utilized for the endowment of the presidency. To the institution was also given the land upon which its buildings were erected, including the mills, as well as the site selected for the new building. To succeeding presidents were left his English chariot and his clock. Finally, as his successor in the presidency, he named his son, John.

In his active life Wheelock had accumulated devoted friends, but he had also acquired bitter enemies. As a result, the estimates of him which have come to us from his contemporaries show the widest diversity of opinion.

As an example of the derogatory estimates of his own period the summary of Ezra Stiles, President of Yale, may be quoted. In general, Stiles was a severe judge of the motives and activities of men and, from his denominational ties, not at all likely to be attracted by Wheelock's ideals. Perhaps the extract tells us as much of the author as it does of Wheelock, with its obvious bias, which is counteracted, nevertheless, by an urge toward charity required by the Christian profession of the writer and his duty to be fair to a fellow laborer in the vineyard of the Lord:

Dr. Wheelock educated under Rector Williams had a tolerable acquaintance with the classics, Watt's Logic & Rohault's Philosophy. His scholarship was perhaps the same as Pres. Davies' but the latter infinitely surpassed him in English Composition. It was a singular Event Dr. Wheelock ris^g to the figure he did with such a small literary furniture. He had much of the religious politician in his Make. It is said that amidst a great Zeal and shew of piety he was very ambitious & haughty. And yet there was something piously sweet, amiable & engaging in his Manner. He by perserving Importunity & Address caught the Attention of the public to his favorite plan of an Indian School and an Eng. College & by Dr. Whitaker & Mr. Occom solicited Benefactions in Brit. to be deposited with a board there. From this Board he has had the address to draw £10 or £12000 sterl. (all in their hands to be got) into America. It is all

expended and except in the new lands Dartm^o College is without funds. It was inten^d that only the Interest sho^d be annually spent, but the fund itself is consumed. Tho this was primarily designed for Indians, yet the only Indian that was graduated there (Daniel Simonds) was obliged to beg elsewhere the last year of his College Residence. The Doctor shews good Accounts well vouched for all this expenditure. But it has probably been better to have left the Funds in the Hands of the London Board.

Such a mixture of apparent Piety & Eminent Holiness, together with the love of Riches, Dominion & Family Aggrandizement is seldom seen. He was certainly as singular a Character as that of Ignatius Loyola. I was personally acquainted with him, & thought him a sincere Friend of the divine Emmanuel.

Portions of this estimate are made up of unauthenticated gossip, a part is a matter of opinion, some of the statements are false, and some are accurate enough.

Certain of the characteristics of Wheelock are so obvious as to admit of no obscurity. There can be no question of his sincerity in the central task of his life, the winning of souls, nor of his devotion to the special branch of it which most attracted his interest, the Christianizing of the Indian. The latter purpose was ever first in his mind and if, in later years, his efforts seemed to turn in a different direction, that was from causes over which he had no control. Nor can there be doubt of his tireless energy, of his unwearying industry, of the steady pertinacity of his efforts toward advancing his chosen cause. A mere inspection of his voluminous correspondence, most of the letters first written in rough drafts and then laboriously copied, all by his own hand, is enough to dispel any idea of laxity of effort, particularly when we remember that such work constituted but a small part of his daily routine. As to his practical judgment, there is more room for doubt. It is sometimes asserted that he wasted his opportunities through the formation of plans of greater scope than could be fulfilled and that at other times he so misinterpreted the possibilities of the situation as to be led into serious errors. Careful inspection of his projected undertakings shows, however, that he usually had a clear idea of the course ahead

and abundant justification for the policies which he adopted; that his plans seemed, in advance, to be entirely practical and that the setbacks which he encountered generally resulted from causes which he had little reason to anticipate. Particularly striking was his quickness in recognizing the approach of failure and his readiness to modify his course to meet unlooked-for obstacles. In his relations with men who were his equals and particularly with those upon whom he was dependent he was tactful, conciliatory and effective, without ever losing his self-respect in the process. In many cases, although not always, he succeeded in his dealings with the younger men who were his agents, and inspired in them a sincere respect and affection. Despite charges to the contrary, he was absolutely devoid of self-interest in matters of finance and devoted himself, throughout his career, to the causes which engaged his heart without consideration of his own pecuniary welfare. His interest in denominational quarrels was less keen than was that of most of the clergymen of his time, although his devotion to Calvinistic tenets was unquestioned. While continually engaged in controversy, in most of the disputes the aggressive action did not have its origin with him, and his attitude was one of defense rather than of attack.

His most serious fault was an arbitrary and dictatorial point of view. His conception of an effective form of government for his undertakings was an autocracy, with himself in the role of a kindly but absolute despot. He regarded his subordinates as properly subject to his unquestioned authority. When opposed by them, even in matters of relative unimportance, his feeling rose almost to the point of vindictiveness. With entire honesty, he regarded those who opposed him as guilty of a dereliction of the moral law. He had so convinced himself of the righteousness of his projects that he came to regard opposition to himself as opposition to the cause of Christ. He never could bring himself to look upon the school and college in any other light than as his personal enterprises, built up solely by his unwearyed efforts (as, indeed, they were) and therefore completely under his personal control. Trustees and other boards he considered to be necessary but inconvenient appendages, rightly subject to his dictatorship. Although probably quite unconscious of it, he was thus greedy for power, not for reasons of self-aggrandizement,

but because power in his hands seemed to him necessary for the success of the cause. For the same reason he looked upon his undertakings as family enterprises, capable of being continued effectively only by those of his own flesh and blood, because they alone could properly understand and value them. In this his purpose probably was not that of which he was accused, namely, family aggrandizement. Indeed, for the time there was much reason for his point of view, as the history of the college in the years following his death was to show, but it brought upon him reproaches, not all of which seem to have been undeserved. As we have seen, his theological tenets often led him into curious flights of logic, which seem bad enough to us, but whose quality of singularity tends to disappear if they are transported to their proper background of the eighteenth century and compared with other clerical utterances of the time. Throughout his life Wheelock was greatly tried by opposition, much of it factious and unfair. In his latter years he evidently yielded to its influence and came to feel a degree of bitterness and resentment which made impossible a calm serenity, the best defense against attack. At times he appeared querulous and ineffective. But when his defects, taken at their worst, are weighed against his high ideals, his far reaching vision, his tireless industry, his pertinacity and devotion to the cause, and, above all, his undaunted courage, the result is not a matter of doubt. The founder of the college emerges as a figure who not only served effectively his own time and generation, but whose influence will reach as a potent and continuing force to generations yet to come.

The little clearing set for a burying ground must have been a lonesome place when, on that April day, the Doctor, his work done, was laid to his rest. In the brief time since the pines had been felled on the college plain, few there were who had been carried to that peaceful spot. He was almost alone. But as time went on, as men lived their lives, did their daily tasks, and at last dropped from the ranks, he was joined by a goodly company. As he did his work, so they did theirs, and he now lies surrounded by the fellowship of those whose lives have been devoted to the common cause. As we wander under the pines on a bright summer day, the names we read there in passing from stone to stone make in themselves an epitome

of the history of the college. But always, before leaving the hallowed place, we return to the plain slab which covers the grave of him to whose courage and energy the institution owes its birth, and we read again the simple inscription, which has served as an ever-renewed inspiration to those who have followed him:

“BY THE GOSPEL HE SUBDUED THE FEROCITY OF THE SAVAGE
AND TO THE CIVILIZED HE OPENED NEW PATHS OF SCIENCE
TRAVELER
GO IF YOU CAN AND DESERVE
THE SUBLIME REWARD OF SUCH MERIT”



CHAPTER V

The College Becomes of Age

THE death of its founder left the college in a condition that was far from flourishing. While it had continued its operations through the war with interruptions that were only minor, the disturbed condition of the times had much affected attendance and the number of students had sadly decreased. The seat of hostilities had shifted from New England, but the Connecticut valley was subject to raids from Canada. In fact, during all the Revolutionary period, active warfare came nearest the college in the fall of 1780, when a group of Tories and Indians destroyed the town of Royalton, Vermont, twenty-five miles away; an attack originally designed for Hanover and diverted from its purpose only by unexpectedly high water in the river. The college had practically no current income beyond the small amount received for tuition. Through lack of money to complete the operation, the lands which had been cleared at such expense had largely lapsed into a wilderness of brush. The yield from the portion remaining in cultivation in 1780 amounted to but £34, while the profits of the mill added but £23 to that sum. The institution owned large tracts of wild land, but much of it was of slight value and there was little market for the remainder. Only the best of it was salable, and that at a price ruinously low. While the principal of the debt of the college to its founder was not demanded, an obligation was imposed by his will to pay an annuity of £50 to his son, Ralph, an obligation that was to be a drain on the college resources

for thirty-eight years to come and which, at times, was met only with the utmost difficulty. A floating indebtedness, mostly chargeable to the school but assumed by the college, amounted to £600. Five Indians were still at the institution, and the entire expense of their support was to be provided. With the influential leaders of the state the institution was in disrepute on account of the activity of some of those associated with it in the dispute concerning the New Hampshire Grants. The prospects were gloomy indeed. Bezaleel Woodward, who knew as much of the financial status of the college as did anyone, asserted in 1780 that all its property, if sold at auction, would not yield enough to cancel its debts, while John Phillips, usually an optimist, wrote in 1779:

What gives us concern is that College affairs are in so perplexed a situation. The obstacles to its prosperity appear so many and of such a nature that without a wonderful interposition of Providence what hopes can we entertain of their removal? You doubt not my disposition to serve the college interest, but I assure you I have little prospect of being able to render it any considerable service at present.

Nor were the trustees free from perplexity in the matter of selecting the new president. The charter had reserved to the founder the right of choosing his successor, a choice, however, which was subject to the confirmation of the board. Wheelock had named his son, John, as his first choice, with a reversion to the Reverend Joseph Huntington of Coventry, Connecticut, (a third cousin), and then to his son-in-law, Sylvanus Ripley. In those days the qualifications required of a person under consideration for a college presidency were very definite. First of all, he must be a clergyman; the duties of his office were as much ministerial as educational. He must be a man of mature years, of experience in the pulpit, of prestige in his profession. He must possess a dignity and solemnity of manner calculated to inspire awe both in the youths under his charge and in the public at large. He must have a reputation for scholarship, best acquired by participation in the theological controversies of the day. Of these indispensable requirements, John Wheelock at that time could not be said to possess a single one. Born in 1754, a graduate of the college in its first class of 1771, he was at the time

of his father's death but twenty-five years of age. He had served for a time as tutor and had once been sent by Hanover to represent its interests in the provincial assembly. In recent years he had served in the army, first as major and lieutenant colonel in Colonel Bedel's regiment, and then as a member of the staff of General Gates. During this period he had led a scouting expedition to Cherry Valley and had received, as a result of it, the special commendation of General Stark. At the time of his father's death he was in Philadelphia. He was generally regarded as a gay, careless, debonair young officer.

It is not a matter for wonder that the trustees hesitated to entrust an office of such weight and dignity to this young blade. It seems certain that their real choice was the Reverend Joseph Huntington, a sedate and mature Connecticut clergyman. That indefatigable collector of ministerial and college gossip, President Stiles, records in his diary a communication from David McClure in which the latter expressed doubts of the younger Wheelock's willingness to accept the position. McClure then added, with an air of relief, "The choice then falls on Mr. Huntington who, I apprehend, sustains a Character among the Friends & Advocates of Learning & Religion that will give Reputⁿ to that young Sylvan Seat of the Muses should the College be so happy to obtain him." In another entry Dr. Stiles mentions Colonel Atkinson and Mr. Pomeroy as the only members of the board who are "clearly for Colonel Wheelock." A guarded communication from Ripley to McClure indicates that the young man's accession was not regarded with entire favor in Hanover.

But the claims of John Wheelock were not to be disposed of so lightly. The wish of the founder was one not carelessly to be set aside. He had always considered the college to be a family institution, its prosperity dependent on the fostering care and guidance of himself and of his kin. He evidently considered that the devotion to the cause to be expected of a Wheelock alone should far outweigh the disadvantages of his son's youth and inexperience. At that stage in the development of the college, there was some justification for that point of view and the trustees recognized its force. Moreover, entirely practical considerations could not be disregarded. The elder Wheelock had never received any compensation for his

services, and the slender resources of the college made it apparent that the continuance of that arrangement, for a time, was almost indispensable. No one except John Wheelock could be expected to serve under such conditions. The family ties which bound him to the institution might be relied upon to induce him to make the necessary sacrifice, while the fact that he was a bachelor and that he had inherited from his father a landed estate sufficient for his support made it possible for him to do so. The sources of Dr. Stiles' gossip seem to have been accurate when, speaking of the trustees who were not in favor of Wheelock's accession, he recorded;

My idea of the rest is, that they are all against him & would ignore him & elect Mr. Huntington or some other Person, had they a present Support. But as his Father has left him his Dwellinghouse & a fine Estate so that he can live with but little Subsistence from the College, I believe the Trustees will let him remain.

Whatever may have been the reasons for it, that is what they did. The appointment made by his father was confirmed and he was invited to enter at once upon the duties of the office.

The young colonel was not at first entirely sure that he wished to be a president. He consented to preside over the Commencement of 1779 only upon the condition that such an action should not be regarded as an acceptance. Soon, however, he had made up his mind and in October notified the trustees of his intention to take up the office, although the duties of it, for the rest of the year, were mainly performed by Woodward. However, to give the board a free hand, he submitted his resignation at the Commencement meeting of 1780. The trustees replied with the following vote:

Resolved that this board is greatly reluctant to accept said resignation as they are intirely satisfyed (so far as they are acquainted) with his past administration and discharge of the office, and do further subjoin their advice that they think it of great importance that he enter upon the work of the gospel ministry (if he find his heart inclined thereto) as soon as may be with convenience.

So the matter was settled and John Wheelock entered upon a presidency that was to last for thirty-six years.

He began at once the task of converting himself from the dashing military officer to the grave and reverend college president. Endless reading was henceforth to be his occupation, and the candle in the president's study burned each night long after all others in the village had been extinguished. Stiles, this time rather sneeringly, remarks:

It is said that from great gaiety he has become mighty grave, is studying divinity, endeavors to ingratiate himself with the scholars & to this end has erected a fence around the college & painted the college rooms at his own expense.

The habit of poring over books, formed in these early days, remained through life and gained for him the reputation of eminent learning. Thus Daniel Webster, speaking of some one whom he met years after graduation, said, "Since I left John Wheelock I have found no man so indefatigable in research." He was even accused of neglecting the social duties of his position on account of devotion to his books. Unfortunately, his powers of assimilation and utilization of material were slight compared with his powers of acquisition, and his learning savored rather of pedantry than of real scholarship. On the other hand, he soon acquired skill in handling young men and, in general, gained their respect, although not their affection. He was at his best, however, in the management of affairs of business, not merely the ordinary routine of the day, but issues of larger significance. In these matters he possessed the vision which was denied to him in the field of scholarship. Many of his ventures seemed daring almost to the point of foolhardiness, but in most cases their outcome justified the conceptions upon which they were based.

No man in the history of the college ever served it with more sincere devotion than did John Wheelock. No man contributed more to its material advancement. It is doubtful if another could, or at any rate would, have guided the institution so successfully through the financial breakers of the period. But two unfortunate characteristics, to be traced to his premature elevation to the presidency, followed him through life. The first came from his uncertainty of mind in the position to which he had so early risen. Here

he was, a college president, entitled to all the awed respect considered due to that office in the eighteenth century, at an age no greater than that of some of his students. There must have been in his mind the lurking fear that his personality would not command the respect which the office required. So we find developing in him a formality of manner, eventually carried to an almost ridiculous extreme. During the first year of his administration he promulgated a code of college laws, the first of a long series. In them we find the students enjoined upon meeting the president to uncover their heads when within six rods of that potentate and also when entering his door yard "when the weather don't render it inconvenient and when their hands are not necessarily employed." They were "to stand in his presence till they have permission to sit, wait for his liberty to speak and deliver their sentiments with modesty and propriety, and deliberately." They must never contradict or enter into disputes with him, but "propose their doubts, grievances or arguments by way of decent interrogation." They must wait for his liberty to withdraw and carry their hats when they wait on him. Such rules were not uncommon in the colleges of the day, but they seem not to have been required in his father's time. The prestige of that redoubtable person needed no artificial support. The custom of maintaining a rigid dignity, which the son considered to be requisite during the period of his youth, remained with him when years of maturity no longer made it so necessary, and the formal habits thus developed ever stood in the way of his coming on intimate terms with men. Moreover, he must have known that he received the office because he was his father's son. For the time, the Wheelock name was the one asset of the college. In later years when, largely through his own efforts, the institution had developed a prestige all its own, he never could bring himself to recognize that the situation had changed. Dartmouth College, to him, was still the school of the Wheelocks. The tenacious grasp which he endeavored to retain upon it brought on the calamities of his final years.

The all-important work of the first years of John Wheelock's administration was the readjustment of finance. The treasurer's summary of 1780 indicates the difficulties with which the president was confronted.

Expense

Trustees	£15
Repairs	34.12.3
Major Wheelock's annuity	31.12.2
Accounts due	173.16.1
Taxes and various charges	106.19.7
Salaries	144. 2.9
Support of Indians	133. 2.10
	<hr/>
	£615.14.6

Income

Notes paid	£25.10.0
Articles sold	11.11.4
From mills	32.10.5
From college lands	34.17.6
From students	157.12.0
Lands sold	313.10.0
	<hr/>
	£575.11.4

While this account is sufficiently depressing, it does not tell the whole of the story. Only a part of the floating debt was discharged during this year, the notes due on the unfortunate lumber contract of Wheelock's earlier years being a peculiarly troublesome liability. It is to be observed that the college was kept on its feet only by a forced sale of lands. This expedient was not only unfortunate in diminishing college endowment, but particularly undesirable as removing the most promising tracts at a time when prices were lowest and causing the institution to lose the increase in value which was to be expected from the rapid development of the region after the war. The income of £313 from this source came from sales of nearly 1000 acres in widely scattered towns. As a shrewd business man, John Wheelock regarded the course thus followed with much aversion, but it was evident that it was the only one which would meet the pressing need. Despite his best efforts, further sales were required in the years to come, so that by 1800 the institution owned but a small portion of the domain originally in its possession. The loss, however, was offset, to a certain extent, by gifts from various

sources of other lands. In 1781 John Phillips added to his previous benefactions a donation of 4000 acres in Grafton County, which was estimated by the president to be worth £1500. In his letter of thanks to the benefactor, John Wheelock, with an admirable sense of gratitude but with a deplorable disregard for decent English, said "You are sir, most emphatically *the patron*, and as such I beg you would consider my acknowledgements to be of that opinion." In a letter to McClure he also hinted at "some great design" relating to the college which Phillips had in mind, but which was evidently replaced by a scheme of founding the school in his own town, now Phillips-Exeter Academy. As a matter of fact, this gift was the only one of any size which the college received from a private individual during the thirty-six years of John Wheelock's presidency.

The maintenance of the Indians was a serious drain upon the institution. Five were in residence at Wheelock's death and one more was about to enter. The trustees voted to support them, although there were no funds especially set aside for the purpose. Two were members of the college, Peter Pohquonnoppeet of the class of 1780 and Louis Vincent of that of 1781—the last Indians to receive degrees for many years. The number of Indian students in school and college was reduced to three in 1782, to one in 1783, and was increased to three in 1785. After that no more were received for fifteen years.

Dark as the future, from a financial point of view, may have seemed, it soon became apparent that the college was to be successful in its appeal as an educational institution. While attendance had sunk to a low point during the war, it increased at once upon the advent of prospects of peace. No catalogue was published until 1802, so that we have no exact record of attendance for the earlier years, but from the list of graduates a general idea of the enrollment may readily be gained. The whole number of students was only about thirty in the year 1779-80. Ten were graduated at the end of that year, while in 1781 the number was five and in 1782 but four. The corner had been turned, however, for in 1783 fourteen received degrees and in 1784, seventeen. In that year John Wheelock wrote to Benjamin Trumbull, "There are near an hundred mem-

bers without the appearance of vice & immorality and diligent in their application." The attendance continued to increase so that the average number of graduates in the six years from 1785 to 1790 was twenty-five, while in the decade 1791-1800 it was thirty-six, with the largest class, numbering forty-nine, in 1791. It became clear that the college was serving a real need in the community and that its prosperity, so far as that was dependent upon student attendance, was assured.

The organization of the institution, so loose under the elder Wheelock as hardly to deserve the name, was at once taken in hand by his son. During the period of depression the whole work of teaching had been in the hands of John Smith, already a professor, and Sylvanus Ripley, classed as a tutor. Bezaleel Woodward, although busied with the financial administration of the college, took no part in the instruction during the period of his political activity. In 1782 the matter was put upon a definite footing. The president was appointed Professor of History. Smith retained his title as Professor of the Learned Languages, while Ripley became Professor of Divinity and Woodward, Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy. The salary of each (except the president) was fixed at £80 *per annum* and each had the free use of a tract of college land. It was the understanding that this stipend should be increased as the receipts for tuition became larger. This arrangement continued until Ripley's death in 1787. At that time a tutor, and later two tutors, were added to the staff. The position of treasurer had been held by the elder Wheelock and he had also served as pastor of the College Church. For a year after his death the treasurership was held by Elisha Payne, of Lebanon, one of the trustees, but it was assumed by Woodward in 1780 and held by him until 1803. Ripley carried the work of the pastorate alone until 1782, when its duties were divided between him and Smith, the latter taking complete charge upon the death of his colleague. John Wheelock himself, despite the recommendation of the trustees and despite the fact that his studies were largely along theological lines, never entered the ministry. Smith also served as librarian until his death in 1809. A new office, that of financier (or business manager), was created and its duties were assigned to the president.

While those matters were of importance, the one pressing question of the period was that of finance, and it became clear that the most strenuous efforts must be put forth to solve the difficult problem. The glamor of the success of Whitaker and Occom on their English expedition still dazzled those interested in the college and it was hoped that such a success might be repeated. It was clear that not much could be expected from England. A people exasperated by defeat would hardly contribute to the support of an institution in the new nation. But it was a period of friendship with France; she had contributed effectively to the success of the colonies in the war, and the sentimental bond might be utilized, it was thought, to bring material aid to the college. In 1781 the attempt had been made to attract attention to the institution in influential quarters by conferring upon the French minister, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the degree of Doctor of Laws. The idea was also advanced that something might be done among the Dutch, whose religious predilections might tend to incline them favorably toward the Indian school. That, at any rate, was John Wheelock's hope. It seems in this instance that his usual business acumen hardly stood him in good stead. To raise money among a Catholic people, with the purpose of turning Indians away from missionaries of their own faith in Canada, might well have been considered an undertaking of dubious promise, nor did there seem to be any especial call for the French to contribute toward the education of the youth of New England. While the religious difficulties did not present an obstacle to a similar appeal to the Dutch, there was slight reason for thinking that the response would be satisfactory. In this case no Whitefield was at hand to prepare the way; in that region no mass of the populace, under the dominance of the nonconformist conscience, felt a compelling obligation to save the souls of their fellow men. In fact, candor compels the conclusion that the main result of the mission was to afford to the young president an opportunity for foreign travel. But the plan was considered by the trustees to be of promise and in September, 1782, they determined to send the president to Europe, and to borrow \$1000 to pay the expense of the journey, although only £200 [\$666] was eventually used. Every en-

deavor having been made, without success, to induce Whitaker to take up the work once again, it was finally decided that Wheelock should be accompanied by his youngest brother, James.

The two envoys left Hanover on November 1 for Philadelphia. There they secured an imposing array of recommendations from the president and various members of Congress, the governors of a number of the states, and leading military officers including General Washington, the French minister and others of influence. A British blockade of the Delaware compelled them to return to Boston, from which port they sailed on January 3, 1783. A rapid and pleasant voyage brought them to Nantes on January 24. They made a leisurely progress to Paris, viewing with care the "curiosities" on the way, and reached the capital on February 5. The American minister, Benjamin Franklin, received them courteously but evidently with little pleasure at their mission. Concealing his dissatisfaction like the diplomat he was, he exerted himself to explain the situation in France as tactfully as he could. To quote Wheelock's own account:

He observed that the design was noble & liberal and wished to render some essential services to it. He took notice that he had made several applications to the court for the favor of very considerable sums in behalf of the United States. That he had at that instant an application from Congress which he concluded to make within two or three days and that under these circumstances he should blush to appear at Versailles as an advocate for the design, however important or deserving it might be. The French, he said, would think that our applications and solicitations might never end and there would be a real danger of some disgust & national dis-service. We received from him much personal politeness, kindness and civilities.

It was evident that Franklin was fully determined that whatever money could be obtained from the French should not go out of his own possession, and no one who studies the necessities which confronted him can blame him for that determination. He saw to it that Wheelock should be introduced to men of scholarly eminence but of no financial influence in Paris, and finally persuaded

the president that the times were not propitious for his mission in France. Wheelock did not even present to the Comte de Vergennes the letter of introduction from the French minister to the United States. It was probably with some sense of relief that Franklin saw the envoys depart for Holland on February 21, generously supplied with letters to various persons of prominence in that country, and with donations of twenty louis d'or each from Franklin himself, and from John Adams and John Jay. One wonders what would have been the outcome had the pertinacious Whitaker been a member of the party.

The journey to Holland led the brothers through the cities of northern France and Belgium, so rich in the architectural treasures of the centuries. The comment of John on these structures casts an interesting side-light upon his artistic sense, or, perhaps, upon that of the age in which he lived. He says,—

The unpolished stone and the irregular shape of antient cathedrals and domes sufficiently shew that the gothic ages knew no rule of architecture and that the hand of the Barbarian was unaccustomed to the chisel.

Arriving at The Hague on March 1, he found prospects of success to be more hopeful than they had been in France. His letters gained him access to the persons of greatest influence and he was received with due respect. In Paris, envoys of England and of the United States were then settling the terms of peace and the Dutch were hopeful that, as a result of their deliberations, special advantages in American trade would be opened to their shipping. Americans were therefore received at this time with especial cordiality. The Grand Pensionary of Amsterdam assured the president that large sums could be obtained if the provisions of the treaty were to their liking. Subscriptions were instituted in Leyden, the cause was indorsed by the principal of the university and £150 was obtained. The young president was received by the Stadtholder, was invited to breakfast with the Prince and Princess of Orange and the late King of Poland, and these three potentates gave 525 florins to the cause; the second (and, up to now, the last) contribution to the college from royalty. The Dutch synod subscribed £100 while £45

was raised at Amsterdam. The era of prosperity then encountered a sudden check. The terms of the peace were announced and they contained no provision for special favors to the Dutch. That practical-minded people at once lost interest in America and its institutions and Wheelock's work, perforce, came to a standstill. There seemed to be no further prospect of fruitful results in Holland, so, leaving an agent to collect the subscriptions (most of which seem never to have been paid), he embarked for England on July 5, being among the first of Americans to enter that country after the conclusion of the war.

Wheelock had no hope of enlisting aid in the mother country but he was anxious to investigate the status of the Scotch fund, to ascertain the fate of the Phillips donation of £175 for the purchase of scientific apparatus (which had been intrusted to Governor Wentworth for expenditure), to make purchases for the library, and to meet, personally, the English friends who, in times past, had done so much for the college and for its founder. John Thornton was "civil and kind," although of the opinion that the state of the nation did not permit the formation of hope that money could be secured. The Earl of Dartmouth and other members of the English board were equally cordial and supplied Wheelock with testimonials of their entire satisfaction with the manner in which the money under their control had been employed by his father. Similar evidence was given by Governor Wentworth. An argument, *in extenso*, for further grants, accompanied by these testimonials, was presented to the London agent of the Scotch Society, although, through lack of funds, the envoys themselves were unable to visit Edinburgh. A committee was appointed by that organization to consider the claim, but no report was made before Wheelock's departure. John Wentworth received the brothers with entire cordiality and told them that the Phillips donation was safely deposited in London and at their disposal. However, his hurried departure to assume the position of Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia prevented final settlement of the claim. The Wheelocks made the acquaintance of Paul Wentworth, cousin of the governor, an opulent planter with estates in the West Indies, and of Dr. William Rose of Chiswick, and these men gave to the institution a number

of books and also the promise of a "scientific apparatus" to be made and forwarded the following year. A number of "valuable curiosities" were also secured. On October 20 the Wheelocks sailed for home on the brig *Peace and Plenty*, a name which was scarcely indicative of the experience which was before them. The passage was extremely stormy; in the midst of the sea the brig was dismasted and limped with difficulty into Halifax under jury rig, after a passage of nine weeks. Their troubles were not yet over. Sailing for Boston, when three days out they encountered a north-east gale and the ship was cast on the bar off the point of Cape Cod on the morning of January 2, 1784. At first the situation seemed hopeless, but it eventually turned out that there was no loss of life, although the ship was destroyed. The resulting disappearance of his strong-box containing all his papers was a source of great embarrassment to the president. In one statement he said that "the loss was of near £5000 consequence to the institution." In another, he asserted that the "loss, except a trifle of money, will be attended with no irretrievable consequences." The latter estimate seems nearer the truth. The brothers returned to Hanover on February 1.

In the following year Eleazar Wheelock, the younger, visited England (evidently not at the expense of the college) and collected the scientific apparatus given by Paul Wentworth and Dr. Rose. It consisted of "an air pump, orrery, standing telescope with achromatic glasses, an elegant set of the mechanical powers, thermometer and barometer, and an electrical apparatus," as well as books purchased from a bequest of £100 made some time before by Colonel Atkinson. Eleazar also formed the acquaintance of William Forsyth, keeper of Kensington Palace, who furnished "a large collection of curiosities consisting of fossils of all kinds, the lava from Mt. Vesuvius, a large variety from the Indies and from the South Seas brought by Capt. Cook."

The net results of Wheelock's European enterprise are difficult to estimate. No definite statement of the outcome was made at the time. In after years, when every act of the president was subject to the jaundiced criticism of the trustees, it was asserted that little of value was obtained, "that the travelling charges would probably have purchased all the articles of the apparatus and books which

were procured by donation and purchase so that John Wheelock got a trip to Europe at the expense of the college and begged one half enough to remunerate the board." On the other hand, the president's defender, Josiah Dunham, presented accounts to indicate that the net proceeds of the journey were \$7531.30. To arrive at this figure he was obliged to credit all the funds subsequently received from the Scotch Society to the efforts of the president on this journey (an assertion of doubtful validity), and also to value the "museum articles" at the exaggerated sum of \$1000. Probably neither the board nor Dunham was very near the truth, but it seems apparent that the efforts of the president upon the mission were not particularly fruitful.

Upon his return Wheelock found that student attendance at the college was on the upward trend, while the most pressing (although by no means the larger part) of the old debts had been paid by the sale of land. In respect to material equipment, however, the institution was in a ruinous condition and it was apparent that some radical move must be made at once. The original buildings, erected in what was essentially a swamp, cheaply and hastily built as temporary in their nature, had almost fallen to pieces in the lapse of time and could no longer be regarded as adequate or even serviceable. Following the advice of the president, the trustees rose to the emergency and on March 31, 1784, voted to solicit subscriptions for the construction of a new edifice to be started as soon as £2000 should be secured. The building was to be of brick, of sufficient length for six "rooms" and entries and of width for two "rooms," with two studies in each room. The height was to be three or four stories as subscriptions might warrant. It was arranged that subscriptions might be paid in money, merchantable beef, pork, grain, boards, glass or nails. The response to the appeal seems to have been as liberal as might have been expected, although the total amount secured is not definitely known. In later years John Wheelock's friends claimed that it amounted to \$15,000, but this is evidently an overestimate. A list, still in existence, shows that the amount raised in the towns in the vicinity of Hanover was £2683 (\$8934).

The work on the building was begun at once, without waiting for the subscription to reach the required sum. Bezaleel Woodward

was appointed "contractor" or business manager of the undertaking and, with characteristic enterprise, he set about erecting a saw-mill, digging a cellar on the site selected and partially excavated by the elder Wheelock ten years before, and obtaining stone for the foundation. The plans were adapted from those brought to Hanover by the first president, although the size of the structure was somewhat reduced and the arrangement in some other respects materially modified. The length was one hundred fifty feet, the width, fifty feet. The design was similar to that of Nassau Hall at Princeton. In September, Woodward having reported that his other duties did not permit him to continue the work of supervision, Elisha Payne of Lebanon was appointed "contractor," or business agent, and remained in charge until the work was nearly completed.

It soon appeared that the scheme of building of brick was beyond the resources of the institution and it was found necessary to substitute wood. The frame was not complete until 1786. Raising it was a stupendous effort which required the united energies of a large force of workmen assembled from far and near. The main timbers were fifteen inches square and from fifty to seventy-five feet long. When, in 1904, fire laid this frame bare and, for a few minutes before it, too, crumpled to ruin, revealed it as it had appeared more than a century before, the spectators felt a sense of awe at the strength of eighteenth-century human muscle which, unaided, had raised it in place. To the end it was as sound as it had been in the beginning, and the generations of undergraduates whom its upper story sheltered, at first alarmed by its portentous swaying in a heavy gale, soon came to regard it as partaking of the essential solidity of a granite cliff.

Perhaps the muscular efficiency of the workmen of the time may have been due to inspiration from the religious exercises which they were privileged to share. They were summoned each morning and evening to attend prayers in the College Hall, conducted by Professor Ripley, and it may be inferred that attendance was obligatory. On the other hand, it may have been due to the abundant supply of rum furnished, as a matter of course, by the institution; a requirement which at one time brought upon the president a lawsuit, with the danger of imprisonment for debt, he having procured

a barrel of spirits without the means of paying therefor. Or may it have come from the fact that a part of their wages was derived from the proceeds of a lottery, sanctioned by the state? Truly, ethical standards change with the lapse of time!

As the structure rose, the financial embarrassment of the institution rose in more than equal proportion. At the very start £10 had to be borrowed from John Phillips to enable operations even to begin. The subscriptions seemed liberal, but collection of them was a difficult matter. John Wheelock wrote to David McClure in 1786, probably without ironic intent, "The pious subscribers are very dull at paying." In the same year Payne was instructed by the trustees to enforce collections by law, if necessary. Even when they were paid, they were often received in commodities, salable only with difficulty, or in land in some cases not salable at all. Every possible expedient was adopted by the financier, John Wheelock, and the contractor, Elisha Payne, to bring in funds. In 1784 a lottery was authorized by the legislature to raise £3000. It was a complete failure and the outstanding tickets were a source of embarrassment for years to come. In 1787 a second lottery was authorized, the yield of which was about £360. In 1788 the trustees voted to borrow £400 at 10%, part of which was to be used to pay accumulated arrears on Ralph Wheelock's annuity and the remainder to settle accrued indebtedness to contractors. The loan apparently could not be effected and in the next year it was voted to sell sufficient college land to yield £400. Bulkley Olcott, one of the trustees, expressed his discouragement at this time in a letter to McClure:

I am very sorry for the bad situation of college affairs. Some particular persons engaged in its behalf are much distressed and will suffer much, and the College interest, I fear, in consequence of it. The Subscription comes in badly, the Lottery cannot at present be got through with, all resources fail. We have reckoned too fast and must abide the consequences.

In 1790 the college received from the state a grant of £361 to cover, including interest, the Phillips donation of £175 for apparatus, which had been placed in the hands of Governor Wentworth and, despite his promises, not yet paid. It was taken from the sequestered

estate of the governor, who seems to have regarded that method of payment (not without logic) as one eminently suitable under the circumstances. The apparatus having already been obtained from another source, Phillips consented that the money should be diverted to the new building. It also appears that John Wheelock applied all the ready cash upon which he could lay his hands, both his own and that of Moor's School, as a loan for the building.

Under this distressing financial stringency it is clear that progress must be slow and interrupted by long periods of stagnation. By August, 1787, the building must have been boarded in, for Commencement that year was held on the first floor, then innocent of partitions. The festivities were enlivened by the fall of the platform upon which the dignitaries were seated, dumping them in an undignified heap, probably much to the joy of the student audience. The private means both of Wheelock and of Payne became much involved with the funds of the institution. In 1788 the trustees voted that the contractor should not render the building habitable for the coming winter "unless providence opens a door to further resources." In 1790, however, they determined to finish the structure at all costs. Olcott writes:

Resolved also that the new College be completed immediately at all adventures. Much damage has and will Still be Sustained if this is neglected. Besides the loss of Chamber rent tis impossible the members of College can pursue their studies to advantage, and it is said great numbers will leave the College this Summer, if not better accommodated. There are two rubs we meet with in finishing the College. The Glass the President procured for it is under a Seisure by one of his Creditors—and provision is Scarce in these Parts and it is difficult to get Workmen boarded—but I trust both these Difficulties will Somehow be Surmounted.

The resolution was precipitated by action of the students, who were evidently weary of the long delay in providing them with adequate quarters. On December 3, 1789, they rose in rebellion, attacked the old College Hall and leveled it to the ground. However, it was not until 1791 that the new structure was ready for occupancy.

From an architectural point of view the exterior of the building was highly attractive. With its fine proportions, its simple lines, its singularly graceful and airy belfry, it remains to this day, reproduced in more durable materials, by far the most pleasing of the buildings of the college. From the viewpoint of interior arrangement it was not so successful. In the original building, not only did three corridors run from east to west, with doors opening at each end, but doors were also located in the north and south ends, with a connecting corridor. The structure was thus badly cut up and much space was wasted. Many years later modifications were made which remedied matters to some extent and the building remained, until its destruction by fire in 1904, the educational center of the institution. Its cost has never been definitely determined. Mr. Frederick Chase's estimate of £4500 (practically \$15,000) is probably as accurate as any. Nearly half of it remained unpaid and the debt rested heavily on the college for many years. Nevertheless, it was eventually paid and the financial risk incurred in the erection of the structure was eminently justified. The institution could hardly have continued to attract students at all if the primitive quarters which housed it during its earliest years had alone been available. The vision and daring of John Wheelock in thus pursuing his way against seemingly hopeless financial obstacles really saved the college at this time from decay and probable destruction.

The razing of the old College Hall brought the necessity of making immediate provision for a chapel. In the emergency the president took the risk of acting without special authorization by the trustees. A subscription amounting to £150 was secured among inhabitants of the village, with the provision that the money should be refunded whenever the chapel ceased to be used as a community church. To this amount he added £150 of his own funds, advanced as a loan, and with the proceeds erected in 1790 a building fifty by thirty-six feet, located to the southwest of the new college edifice on the site of the present Thornton Hall, although projecting somewhat to the west of the position of that building. The ceiling was arched from the four sides and the seats sloped to the roof from the center aisle. It formed a remarkable whispering gallery, the slightest sound being conveyed to the other side of the structure,

and was regarded as a "choice room for the exhibition of speaking." In accordance with the Spartan habits of the times, it was provided with no heating or lighting facilities whatsoever.

The college commons was also located in the College Hall. The resources of the institution could by no possible means be stretched to cover this deficiency. However, in 1790 arrangements were made with Aaron Kinsman to erect a commons building at his own expense and, jointly with James Wheelock, to assume responsibility for the management of boarding facilities. A two-story structure was built on the site of the present Rollins Chapel, containing a dining hall sixty feet long and thirty wide. Like most institutions of the kind, the boarding establishment did not prove to be a success. The contract with Kinsman and his partner stipulated that all students should be required to board in commons, unless especially excused. The pressure for excuses was very great, and finally but twenty-five undergraduates were boarding in commons, instead of the hundred who were expected to do so. The stewards entered a vigorous protest, which was met by a counter-protest on various grounds by the administration of the college. The dispute was submitted to arbitration, with the result that in 1793 £350 was awarded the stewards as damages, a claim not finally adjusted for many years. After the failure of the commons, it was determined to allow the students to shift for themselves so far as board was concerned, a policy which continued for twelve years.

Finally, in 1791, the second of the buildings erected by the elder Wheelock was torn down and the proceeds, so far as there were any, were employed in establishing a home for Moor's School, erected on the site now occupied by Chandler Hall. At this point the material rejuvenation of the college terminated and the institution assumed the external aspect which it was to wear for nearly forty years.

In the meantime, the landed estate had undergone startling fluctuations. It will be remembered that a main inducement offered by Governor Wentworth to obtain the college for New Hampshire was the grant of the township of Landaff. Without that proffer he would have had slight chance of success in bringing the school to the province. A large amount of money had been devoted to the

development of the grant by both the Wheelocks and by this time it should have been a highly remunerative investment. Unfortunately, a prior grant of the tract had been made, but forfeited, as was supposed, by non-compliance of the grantees with the conditions of the charter. The elder Wheelock had been somewhat anxious about this earlier grant and had proposed to buy the claims of the original owners at a time when they could have been secured for an insignificant sum. Governor Wentworth had strenuously objected to that policy, had maintained that the title of the college was entirely beyond question and had had his way. In 1778 a land speculator, Colonel Nathaniel Peabody of Atkinson, perceiving in the situation an opportunity for unearned profit, acquired the rights of a large number of the original grantees at from £5 to £6 for each right. Probably his confidence in the success of his speculation was not lessened by the disrepute in New Hampshire into which the college had fallen at this time as a result of the political agitations of the period, and of his own influential position with the leaders of state affairs. In 1781 settlers began to be introduced into the town with titles derived from the first grant, although the college had been in undisputed possession of the tract for ten years. It was a tempting opportunity. This was no wild area of land with the labor and expense of clearing it for effective agriculture still in prospect, but a tract much of which was already cleared, provided, moreover, with roads, mills and a school, all at the expense of the college. Soon the town was a center of contention between two sets of inhabitants holding titles under contradictory grants. In 1785 thirty-nine settlers derived their deeds from the college and seventeen from the first charter. Naturally great disquiet arose among these landholders, and the agents of Peabody, who were on the spot and not averse to bullying methods, eventually gained the upper hand. There were numerous desertions from the college interest, the way apparently being made easy for such transfers of allegiance to take place. Suits were invariably decided against the college and an appeal by the trustees to the legislature that the state should defend their title was without effect. The board was reluctant to abandon its claim and held to it as long as there was the slightest hope of success. Finally, however, it became apparent that persistence could

only bring additional expense and in 1791 the trustees voted to give up all claim to Landaff. A rather nauseating incident was the award of an honorary degree to Peabody in the same year, evidently with the hope of inducing him to moderate his terms. The total expense incurred in developing the town was never definitely determined, but it cannot have been less than \$10,000. This amount was a complete loss, as well as the town itself.

Some relief was afforded, however, in 1789 by a second grant by the legislature of an area supposed to amount to 40,000 acres, but which turned out to be somewhat less. It was located on the Connecticut River, north of Colebrook, and is now the town of Clarkesville. The award of this grant encountered strenuous opposition in the legislature and was only carried as a result of an impassioned plea from the old Revolutionary soldier, General Sullivan, who arose from a sick-bed to deliver it, his last public appearance. The charter of the township provided that the governor and council should act as members of the board of trustees when funds resulting from this gift were under consideration. Title was not obtained until 1792. The greater part of the land was sold at once, one tract bringing £1000 and another £1250. The remainder was disposed of in small lots, the last title of the college being extinguished in 1872. These scattered sales brought to the institution about \$10,000. All in all, considering interest charges, the return from this grant probably did not more than equal the expense incurred in the development of Landaff. As the outcome of these transactions, the college came to New Hampshire without actually receiving any portion of the land promised to it by the state, although in later years another grant was made. Fortunate it was that the elder Wheelock had stood obstinately against the desire of Governor Wentworth to locate the institution in a town the title to which subsequently proved defective.

Four years before this the president had succeeded in securing a land grant from Vermont. At a session of the legislature held in Norwich in 1785 a gift of 23,000 acres was made to the college, dependent, however, upon any land being available after a number of preceding grants had been located, the prospect of which, at the time, did not appear to be particularly promising. However, the

donation was confirmed at a session at Windsor in 1788, and a vacant township was finally found northwest of St. Johnsbury. It is now the town of Wheelock. According to the charter, adroitly framed by the president, only one-half of the area was to be awarded the college, while the other half was given to Moor's School. This division was to prove exceedingly troublesome in later years. The tract was surveyed at once, the first settlers appeared in 1789, and by 1794 some forty families were residing in the town. Land was leased in "rights" of 200 acres, with 100 acres of worthless mountain land attached to each right, the lease running for 998 years. Rents at the start were £1 for each 100 acres, but were increased in 1803 to £2. The rental for a full right was thus \$20, payable in money at 6/8 silver per ounce or in wheat or corn at market prices. From the start, difficulties were experienced with the tenants. The rights were too large, the wild land, assigned to each and to be paid for, was of no value, and the settlers in the town, for the most part, were very poor. Moreover, absentee ownership is never popular in America and the college was accused of not doing its share toward providing roads and other public improvements. From the first, collection of rents was a difficult matter and, in many cases, an impossibility. Nevertheless, the yearly revenue from the grant amounted early in the nineteenth century to \$600 each for school and college, about one-half of the total college income from endowment, while as late as 1840 it was as much as one-third of that total. For a long time the land obtained from Vermont was thus more productive than anything received from New Hampshire. As time went on, arrangements were made by which tenants could become owners by paying a proper capital sum and most of the land passed out of the possession of the institution. In 1913 Moor's School conveyed all its rights in the township to the college, the legislature of Vermont assenting. In 1930 the land in Wheelock still belonging to the college was valued in the financial report at \$5954, with a net income for the year of \$334.47.

Further financial relief was afforded through a successful appeal to the Scotch Society. It will be remembered that practically nothing had been received hitherto from the fund of £2500, sterling, in charge of that organization. It had been in their hands, at inter-

est, all these years. As a result of representations while he was in London, and of subsequent correspondence, John Wheelock had succeeded in inducing the society to honor a draft for £70 sterling, drawn by his father in 1775, while in 1785 he received £625 sterling towards paying the indebtedness incurred for the support of Indians during the later part of his father's regime. He regarded this sum as far from meeting the entire obligation of the Society. In 1789 he presented elaborate accounts showing that the sum of £1190 sterling was still due to the school. The authorities of the Society were not at all pleased with this demand. They were convinced that money supposed to have been devoted to the Indians had really been used for the college, they felt that there had been much extravagance in the treatment of the aborigines, they suspected that poor business management had been employed in the entire enterprise, and they were inclined to think that the number of Indian souls saved (if, indeed, there were any such) was far from commensurate with the expenditure. After the Revolution a new Board of Correspondents had been set up at Boston and that body was asked by the parent society to investigate the whole matter with an extremely critical eye. The outcome was probably much of a surprise to everyone. While the investigating committee admitted that some of the charges appeared to be high and others injudiciously incurred, that fact seemed to it to be "due to the zeal of the late Dr. Wheelock to promote the great design, rather than to any wilful misapplication of money." It found that the funds had been expended for the school and not for the college, that neither of the Wheelocks had made any charge for their time or trouble, and that the debt had been incurred on the credit of the trust in England and Scotland and in expectation that it would be repaid from that source. The conclusion was that the sum of £1190 was justly due and ought to be paid. At this precise moment, the president assumed a conciliatory attitude. He offered to reduce his claims to £658, sterling, and to give, in return for that sum, a release of all past demands. The Society yielded, but in a very grudging manner. It first demanded that the release should be signed by all the heirs of the first president. When that was done, it objected to the wording of the document and sent it back for revision. Trustee Bulkley

Olcott wrote of the group, "Did ever a dignified Society Conduct with so little dignity and so much Caprice." It was not until 1791 that the money was finally obtained. The various payments (about £1300 ster.) were turned over to the college and applied to the settlement of outstanding debts incurred for the support of Indians. The principal of the Scotch fund was not affected by these drafts and remained at about £2500.

While past claims were thus relinquished, John Wheelock had no intention of refraining from future demands. Moor's School, although established as a device to draw money from abroad, was far from a moribund institution. It was now and had been from the start in active operation, at this time serving mainly as a preparatory school for the children of Hanover; it had its own master and in 1791, in anticipation of the income from the Vermont grant, a building was erected for it. No Indians had been received since 1785, but facilities were ready for them should they return. In the earlier days, under the first president, the financial affairs of the school had been so involved with those of the college that no possibility existed of unraveling the tangle, a situation which gave much anxiety to some of the more conscientious of the trustees, but now the two accounts were separated. The school was John Wheelock; in it he was subject to control and oversight on the part of no one, a position thoroughly to his liking and one which, in some degree, was of strategic advantage to him in his mastery of the college. He now made up his mind that the time was ripe to embark once more on the course set by his father so many years before. Indian education should be, if not the prime purpose, at any rate *a* purpose of the institution, and the Scotch fund should finance the enterprise. He entered upon a new correspondence with the Society and with its Boston Correspondents; he suggested that a mission to the Cherokees would be a proper use of the fund and even sent a representative to Tennessee to investigate the promise of that field; he made inquiries in various regions as to the possibility of attracting promising Indian boys to the school—all this with the bland assumption that the money in Scotland was subject to his call, and that the authorities in control of it could offer no objection to the application of it to such worthy ends.

These measures seem to have aroused in the pious authorities of the Society in Scotland no considerable degree of sympathy. They were thoroughly suspicious of all Wheelocks and their schools. They had collected information about them which they deemed conclusive. The Reverend Edward Wigglesworth, head of the Boston Correspondents, reported that all the money of the English Trust had been spent in providing accommodations for the officers and English youths in Dartmouth College and that, unless careful watch were kept, the Scotch fund would go the same way. Dr. Chauncy, before departing for the Elysian fields, had directed his final blow at the Wheelocks by the statement that "the Indian school since removal to New Hampshire has served scarce any other end than to enrich the President's family and Indians have received little advantage from it." Samuel Kirkland contributed the information that only two Indians had completed their education since the removal of the school to Hanover, one of whom had died and the other was unfit for the office of a missionary, and he accompanied this inaccurate statement with a plea that the fund should be diverted to the support of his own Hamilton-Oneida Academy. Mr. Hyslop told the Society that he regarded the elder Wheelock as a "designing man" who made improper use of the funds, while Dr. Thatcher reported that John Wheelock was honest but with "no idea of economy of public money." The old opposition to the father was quite as active against the son and, as a result, the information which the Society obtained from America, while some of it was true, was in general uncandid and biased. But the Society believed in its entire accuracy and conducted itself accordingly. However, one embarrassing feature of the situation caused much confusion; the legal committee of the Society reported "that the application of the money collected is and must continue to be limited to Moor's Charity School so long as a chance remains of returning it to its original design," a position which was exactly that continually reiterated by John Wheelock in his correspondence. So, although the authorities of the Society were disgusted with the responsibility for the fund and wished themselves well rid of it, no outcome seemed to be possible except to follow the counsel of their legal advisers. The Cherokee scheme, however, they rejected with scant considera-

tion. In 1800, after a lapse of fifteen years, two Indian lads were received into the school. They were sons of Eleazar Wheelock's old pupil, Joseph Brant. At once application was made to the Society for their support. At first the authorities ruled that only those designed for a missionary career could be cared for, but afterwards they yielded this point and extended the field of selection to any well-behaved Indian youth. They stipulated, however, that no boy should be received without the certification of the Boston Correspondents, that the progress of the pupils in school must be certified by the same group and that all bills must be approved by that body before payment. To these conditions the president assented with entire good grace, he sedulously lived up to the obligations imposed, and his relations with the Boston Correspondents were entirely friendly. His drafts on the fund were limited to \$400 per annum. The sum permitted him to support two to four Indians, and from 1800 to 1813 Indian youths were at all times in attendance at the school, where they must have been somewhat submerged among the thirty to sixty white children who were regular students of the institution. In the latter year the outbreak of hostilities between the British and Americans made communication with the Indian country difficult and the number of redskins decreased. In 1803 the principal of the fund was £2662, but it was then ruled that unexpended interest, while it might be added to the principal, could not itself draw interest.

In none of his many periods of contention did John Wheelock appear to better advantage than in this. His letters were courteous, logical and direct—in marked contrast to the somewhat peevish character of those of his opponents. He made the most of a case that was far from flawless, and showed a patience under extreme provocation worthy of all praise. The honors of the controversy were all with him.

The financial relations between the president and the college during this period subsequently became the subject of bitter controversy. John Wheelock, unlike his father, always presented a claim for remuneration for his services, although, the claim being recognized, he did not always insist on payment. In 1782 the trustees admitted an obligation to him for the payment of \$1000 a year for

each of the three years of his service, and voted to pay \$1000 of the sum at that time. Wheelock declined to receive it and the trustees adopted a resolution thanking him for his gift of \$3000. This transaction was merely on paper and evidently prearranged. In view of college resources, no possibility existed that any such amount at that time could have been devoted to the president's salary. Beginning with 1782 his salary was definitely fixed at £200 a year, but no attempt was made to pay it for four years. In 1786 the matter was again under consideration as the result of a communication received from the president in which he presented the arrears, now amounting to £800, to the college "if he should die before making a particular arrangement for its application," a stipulation which was to cause much trouble in the years to come. In 1785 a grant of £100 was made to him "for the support of his table"; a sum which just canceled a subscription of \$333 made by him for the building of the new hall. After 1786 the salary of £200 was recognized as an obligation actually to be paid, but it frequently remained in arrears. In addition, the college obtained numerous loans from the president, always definitely recorded in businesslike fashion and, of course, bearing the usual rate of interest. In 1793, in consideration of the release of all his claims, he was given the rents on 620 acres of college land along Mink Brook for a term of 998 years, a transaction which really amounted to an actual transfer of the ownership of the land to him. By a definite settlement in 1795 he had gained possession of 1200 acres of land formerly belonging to the college. His loans to the institution continued, however, so that at his death in 1817 the institution owed him more than \$8000, on account of money borrowed and arrears of salary.

In truth, the financial status of John Wheelock soon became one which was far from unsatisfactory. The rise in the value of lands left to him by his father and those which he obtained from the college resulted in a handsome increase in his possessions, while his marriage in 1786 to Miss Maria Suhm, daughter of a former governor of St. Thomas in the West Indies, brought him additional wealth. The pair had but one child, a daughter, and the family lived in simple and inexpensive style. Wheelock was extremely shrewd in the management of his private affairs; he had money to loan on mort-

gage security, he was sharp and exacting in the treatment of his debtors, and in the course of time, through his business dealings and for other reasons, he became generally unpopular in the village. With both his brothers he was on bad terms. Eleazar, Jr., who seems to have been a worthless character, in 1791 charged him with perverting to his own use donations made to the college and also with dealing falsely and knavishly with various persons. The complaint was aired at a meeting of the presbytery and that body not only vindicated the president but expelled Eleazar from the church, a decision generally in accord with public sentiment. With James, who was more highly regarded, the matter was different. The dispute concerning the management of the commons has already been mentioned, but, in addition, certain dealings rising from the agency of James for the sale of land in Landaff led to a suit at law which the president won in court. His conduct in the controversy, however, was considered by many to be scarcely in consonance with good ethics. Unpopularity, however, did not affect his prosperity and, in his later years, when he was in violent controversy with the trustees, he was described by them as the richest man in New Hampshire, with a fortune of over \$100,000. That was probably an exaggerated estimate, but his financial position was certainly secure. Always it had been his freely expressed intention to leave a goodly share of his possessions to the college. The outcome will show that he was perfectly sincere in these promises, although circumstances were such at the time of his death that the institution was not able to profit by his generosity.

The lapse of time brought many changes in the governing powers of the college. The last of the original board of trustees disappeared when Benjamin Pomeroy and George Jaffrey resigned on account of the infirmities of age, the former in 1784, and the latter in 1788. Some doubt was felt concerning the title of the "president," as he was then called, afterwards the governor, of New Hampshire, to a seat on the board. The provision of the charter appointing as trustee "John Wentworth, for the time-being governor" might seem to a layman to mean "John Wentworth so long as he shall be governor" and to involve no provision that the right should be transferred to his successor. That appears to have been the view down to 1788,

but in that year the board decided that the phrase made the position an *ex-officio* one and since that time the governor has possessed the right to a seat on the board, a privilege which has been exercised only occasionally. John Phillips resigned in 1793. He had not attended a meeting (except one held in his own town in 1784) since the death of the elder Wheelock, but he was the largest private benefactor of the college. In 1789, in consideration of his former gifts and of 285 bushels of wheat (valued at £37) which he added at that time, it was voted that certain tracts of land should be sequestered and the income from them applied to the support of a Professor of Divinity, the first of the endowed chairs of the college. For a long period the income from the fund was not sufficient to provide the full salary of the incumbent, and the use of the endowment became one of the many matters of recrimination in succeeding years. At the time of his resignation the trustees asked Phillips to permit his portrait to be painted at the expense of the college, "that this board, the Officers and Students & others in future time may have opportunity to view the traits of the person who far beyond all others has extended his liberality to this institution." A likeness of the elder Wheelock was also to be secured at the same time. With commendable loyalty, but with deplorable artistic judgment, the board selected Joseph Steward, of the class of 1780, to do the work, at his usual fee of ten guineas for Phillips, reduced, as a result of his filial devotion, to half that sum for Wheelock. Steward is described as an evangelist and an artist, and, so far as we know, he may have had excellent talents for the former of these occupations. His likeness of Wheelock is rather dubiously described by McClure as "perhaps as good as could be expected in a drawing from memory." The artist himself later referred to these efforts as among his "early indiscretions." Thus came to the college the first of its collection of portraits.

To name all the members elected to the board in the last two decades of the eighteenth century would serve no purpose, but mention must be made of certain outstanding individuals among them. At one time no fewer than three members of the Olcott family, highly influential in the region, held seats, simultaneously, on the board. The custom of appointing professors to such positions was

maintained when John Smith succeeded Sylvanus Ripley in 1788. Highly serviceable to the college was Jonathan Freeman, who became a trustee in 1793. He and his four brothers were the earliest settlers in Hanover, coming to the new town in 1765. He was experienced as a surveyor and made the original survey of the town. The plan of the village, with the green as the central feature, is due to him, and he also carried out the work required in the division of Landaff. Residing in Hanover Center, he and his brothers accumulated large holdings of land in the town, and eventually came to be considered as the most influential of its citizens. He held various town offices, was repeatedly member of the legislature, a delegate to the convention which formulated the state constitution, for seven years member of the Council, Presidential Elector in 1793, and from 1797 to 1801 a member of the national House of Representatives—one of the two residents of Hanover to attain that office. In 1789 he succeeded John Wheelock as “financier” of the college and continued in that office and as trustee until his death in 1808. The institution owed much to his sound business sense and to his painstaking management of its affairs. The most fateful and portentous election during this period, however, was that of Judge Nathaniel Niles of West Fairlee, Vermont, in 1793. To John Wheelock this appointment must later have seemed like the traditional cloud no larger than a man’s hand which was to develop into a roaring tornado, to destroy all that it touched. Born in 1741, Niles became a graduate of Princeton in the class of 1765 and subsequently studied law, theology and medicine, all of which professions he practiced simultaneously. He gained repute as an inventor, with a machine for making wire and wool-cards, and as a poet by composing a patriotic song widely sung during the Revolution. He held various town offices, was long a member of the Vermont legislature, Judge of the Supreme Court of the state and member of Congress from 1791 to 1795. His theology was of the extreme Hopkinsian type of Calvinism and he had no patience with those whose beliefs ran along different lines. He was vigorous, arrogant, fond of contention, fond of having his own way. No sooner had he taken his seat on the board than he formed an intense aversion to John Wheelock. He was critical of the scholarship of the president, he doubted his theo-

logical soundness, and, most of all, he had scant patience with the Wheelock pretensions to complete dominance over the institution and his obvious belief that the trustees held in its organization a very minor role. John Wheelock returned this aversion with interest. He became convinced that the new trustee was malignantly determined upon destroying the school which his father had built and which he, himself, had developed. Ever a courteous man who referred to most of his opponents in guarded language, he seldom, in his private letters, mentioned the new trustee in other terms than "old Niles," "daddy Niles," and the like. Thus between the cold hatred of the president and the fiery contempt and fixed determination of the judge, the seeds were sown for the outbreak which in future years was nearly to destroy the college.

There was little thought of impending trouble, however, during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Aside from the chronically embarrassed state of college finances, the period was one of high prosperity. The position of Dartmouth had been established as a recognized institution of learning, on a parity with all others. Student attendance was little below that of the largest of American colleges. Thus in the decade from 1791 to 1800, the number of graduates from Harvard was 394, from Dartmouth 362, from Yale 295, and from Princeton 240. The prosperity of the town kept pace with that of the college. No longer, as in the earlier years, was the clearing of land so prevalent in the vicinity that for "a week in succession the smoke from the burning lands would be so dense and black by mid-afternoon as to entirely obscure the sun from our eyes, and the darkness become similar to that occasioned by a dark thundercloud," nor did the fires "on a dark night ranging over some of the high hills present a sublime and almost terrific view." No longer were building supplies, not locally produced, so difficult to obtain that "very few houses were lighted with common window glass, but more windows furnished the light shining through oiled paper pasted onto the sash." The village had assumed a settled aspect. It was the largest settlement in the upper Connecticut valley and by far the busiest. The building activity of the college had inspired a similar activity on the part of the community. In 1795 a church edifice was erected at an expense of £1500, nearly all the funds re-

quired being secured by the sale of pews. At the request of the authorities of the college, its dimensions were made larger than was called for by the normal requirements of the community, so that it might be serviceable for Commencements and other academic festivities. Until its destruction by fire on May 13, 1931, it remained the last public building of the eighteenth century to survive in Hanover. In 1796 the river was bridged by

... a noble structure containing an immense amount of timber. It was one arch the whole width of the river in length 236 feet without any under support in the middle. Such was the elevation in the center on top of the arch that it was a very heavy ascent on either side. The rise about 60 feet. It stood seven years & then fell down much by its own weight. There was double the weight of timber in it that was needful.

William Dewey, the writer of the above, says, further, that his father sold to the bridge corporation twenty-five trees, at a rate of one dollar each on the stump, from which were hewn timbers eighteen inches square and sixty feet in length. The structure cost \$12,000, and, with one exception, was the longest single span in New England. Hanover even rose temporarily to the position of capital of the state, the legislature meeting within its limits in 1795 and Governor Gilman being inaugurated in the college chapel.

The finances of the institution were likewise somewhat relieved during this period by the proceeds of a third lottery. Despite the complete failure of the first project of this kind and the scanty profits from a second, it was determined to make another trial, and in December, 1795, the legislature authorized a lottery to extend not more than five years and to yield not more than \$15,000 above expenses. The business was intrusted to three managers, of whom Jonathan Freeman was one, and the drawings were conducted in classes of which there were eventually seven. In each class usually 6000 tickets were placed on sale at \$4 each, netting \$24,000 if the sale was complete. The prizes also aggregated \$24,000, but the distribution varied somewhat in the different classes. Thus in the sixth class, the two capital prizes were \$2000 and \$1000, with increasing numbers of smaller prizes, finally dropping to 1350 lowest prizes of \$8

each, so that 1618 of the 6000 tickets drew some kind of a prize. In the seventh class, the capital prizes were \$3000, \$2000, and two of \$1000, while the number in the intermediate values was reduced, and the lowest prizes of \$6 were increased in number to 1460. Each prize was subject to a deduction of $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ of its face value, and it was from this sum (\$4000, if the tickets were all sold) that the not inconsiderable expenses of the undertaking were paid and the profits to the college realized. It is obvious that success lay in the completeness with which tickets were sold, that any left over were carried at the risk of the college and the institution was thus, perforce, compelled to gamble (usually with rather unlucky results) in its own lottery. At the time little sentiment against lotteries on moral grounds was in evidence. It is true that one man attracted attention in the southern part of the state by his practice of tearing down the lottery advertisements, posted in stores and other public places, with the assertion "that it was an infamous thing, that they pretended the college was in debt, but really the money would be put in their pockets and that he intended to tear down all the notices he found." Upon investigation, it was found that his objections were not of a moral nature, but that he was a disgruntled undergraduate who had taken this method of expressing his dissatisfaction with the institution. Happily being subject to college discipline, he was at once brought to book by the faculty and compelled to sign an abject apology and plea for forgiveness. The net proceeds of the first, second and third classes, drawn in 1796 and 1797, were \$2158.03, those of the fourth and fifth classes, in 1798, were \$748.94, while those of the sixth and seventh classes, drawn in 1799 and 1800 were \$765.06. The total amount, \$3672, was a welcome relief to the distressed state of finance.

The general prosperity of the period was further demonstrated by the foundation of the medical branch of the institution. Like the college itself, it owed its existence to the energy of a single person. Nathan Smith was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, in 1762, but, while still a boy, removed to Chester, Vermont. His educational advantages were limited and he reached young manhood apparently with no ambition to be more than an ordinary farmer or laborer. Happening, however, to respond to an appeal for assist-

ance in conducting a surgical operation made by Dr. Goodhue of Ludlow, his interest was aroused by the process and he appealed to the doctor to be taken by him as a student. Upon examination it was found that his education was inadequate even to start a medical career, and he was told that the deficiency must be remedied before the request could be considered. With characteristic energy he set himself to the task and in a year he had completed the necessary preparation. He was then received by Dr. Goodhue and, after the usual term of apprenticeship with the doctor, studied for a year in the Harvard Medical School, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Medicine in 1790. He settled in Cornish, New Hampshire, where his practice soon became highly successful. He was impressed by the lack of opportunity for the thorough study of medicine in the country. At the time there were but three American medical schools in existence; that of the University of Pennsylvania, the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, and the Harvard Medical School. The ordinary preparation for a medical career consisted of study directed by a practising physician and service as his assistant, a method admirable in its opportunities for practical training but somewhat lacking on the side of theory. Smith saw the opportunity of establishing a medical institution in the interior of the country, where living expenses were low, which should serve as a valuable supplement to the usual course of apprenticeship. In 1796 he proposed to the trustees the foundation of a medical branch of Dartmouth and he offered to proceed to Edinburgh and London for a period of study to fit himself for the management of the enterprise.

The trustees expressed themselves as favorably inclined to the project, but stated that they had no funds which could be devoted to it. Smith, however, regarded their response as sufficiently encouraging to justify the further prosecution of his plans. He spent nine months in Great Britain, and, upon his return, lectured at the college during the year 1797-98, evidently without special authorization. At a meeting of the trustees in 1798 the matter was put upon a definite footing. A medical department was established, with provision for instruction in the departments of Anatomy and Surgery, Chemistry and *Materia Medica*, and the Theory and Practice of Physic. Lectures were to begin annually on October 1, and

to continue for ten weeks, three lectures on each working day, one in each of the three branches. The requirement for the degree of Bachelor of Medicine for those who were college graduates was fixed as attendance upon two courses of lectures and, in addition, two years of study under a reputable surgeon or physician. Three years of apprenticeship, two courses of lectures, and the passing of an examination in elementary Latin, mathematics, geography and natural and moral philosophy were required of those who did not possess the bachelor's degree. The total charge for each term of lectures in the three departments was \$50, but students enrolled in the two upper classes of the academic department were allowed to attend them upon payment of \$20. The college assumed no responsibility for the collection of the medical fees, but turned that duty over to the medical professor, who was to receive the entire proceeds, in lieu of other compensation.

The first medical lectures are said to have been held in a small wooden structure standing just in front of the present medical building. In 1799 Dr. Smith was given the use of a room in the north end of the "College" for lecture and laboratory use, and in 1803 an adjoining one was added to this domain; but he was required to furnish these apartments at his own expense. From 1798 to 1800 Dr. Lyman Spalding delivered lectures in Chemistry, and for one session Dr. Alexander Ramsay seems to have lectured in Anatomy but, aside from this minor assistance, Dr. Smith himself carried the entire work of the school from 1798 to 1810. In the latter year Dr. Cyrus Perkins was added to the staff as Professor of Anatomy.

Students' fees constituted the sole compensation of the medical "faculty" in the early years, although small sums were occasionally voted by the trustees for the purchase of apparatus. In 1802, however, Dr. Smith was given the additional sum of \$50, and in 1804 the trustees voted to pay him a yearly salary of \$100 on the condition that he should remove his family, still residing in Cornish, to the seat of the college. The home of the school remained in the north end of Dartmouth Hall until 1810. Throughout his career Dr. Smith was unusually adroit and successful in appeals to legislative bodies. In 1803 he obtained a grant of \$600 from the New Hamp-

shire Assembly for the purchase of apparatus, while in 1810 the state appropriated \$3450 for the construction of a medical building, on the condition that Smith should contribute the land for the site, and also that he should assign to the state his anatomical museum and chemical apparatus. The structure was built in 1811 and is now the oldest of the college edifices. The cost outran the appropriation by \$1217, a sum which Dr. Smith, after much trouble, succeeded in inducing the legislature to repay in 1812. In the following year he severed his connection with the school to take up the work of establishing a medical department at Yale.

From the start the institution was a success. While the number of graduates was small in the earlier years, the total attendance soon rose to respectable dimensions. In 1806, the first year for which we have records, the number of medical students was 45, with enough academic undergraduates in addition to make a total of 81. In 1811 the enrollment rose to 124. The degree conferred at first was that of Bachelor of Medicine, as was usual in the medical schools of the day, but the more distinguished title of Doctor of Medicine was substituted in 1812.

While the college had thus firmly established its position as an educational institution, from a financial point of view it never exhibited any other condition than that of chronic impecuniosity. Fixed charges were met with the utmost difficulty, and then only by frequent neglect to pay the salary of the president or by borrowing from him. John Wheelock exerted himself with admirable diligence to meet the problem and always managed at least to keep the institution from complete bankruptcy. The legislature of New Hampshire was looked upon as the most promising source of relief and few sessions of that body can have passed without an appeal from the college for appropriation of funds, grants of land, authorization of lotteries, or other forms of financial aid. The legislators must have become very weary of these repeated demands, but it must be said that they met them with consistent firmness and guarded the interests of the taxpayers with remarkable fidelity. From the time of the land grant of 1789 down to 1805 nothing was done for the institution except the authorization of a lottery in 1795. In 1804, however, in a burst of generosity, a legislative com-

mittee was appointed to visit Hanover and examine the finances of the institution. This committee informed the legislature at its next session that the income from endowment amounted annually to but \$1200, that the number of professors was insufficient and their compensation inadequate, that even with the best management expenses exceeded income by the sum of \$553.96, without making any allowance for insurance and for bad debts, which should be reckoned at \$350 more. As a result of this report, the House voted to give to the college \$900 each year as a continuing appropriation. The Senate amended the bill so that it should apply for one year only and passed it in that form. The appropriation of funds stopped at that point and no further grant of money was made in succeeding years, but in 1807 the legislature voted a grant of land six miles square, located on the Maine line in the extreme northern part of the state, "the income to be applied wholly and exclusively to assist the education of the youths who shall be indigent, and to alleviate the expenses of members of families in this state whose necessitous circumstances will render it impossible for them to defray the expenses of an education at said seminary without such assistance." It was further enacted that the members of the Council, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court should be *ex-officio* members of the board of trustees when the proceeds of this or of any future grant made to the college by the state might be under consideration. The whole of the second college grant is still in possession of the institution. For a long time it was thought that it would be utilized for purposes of agriculture, as was the case with the other lands of the college. So long as this idea prevailed, no considerable income was realized from the tract. In later years, however, its value as a source of lumber began to be realized and moderate sums were obtained from the sale of that commodity, while recently the yield from that source has been very substantial. In 1807 the Reverend Israel Evans bequeathed to the college an estate estimated by the president to amount to \$9000 for the endowment of a professorship of oratory. It was not to be available, however, until the death of Mrs. Evans and did not come into possession of the institution until 1847, when its value was found to be much less than the president's estimate.

At times during this period much of John Wheelock's attention had to be devoted to efforts, not to acquire additional endowment, but to keep possession of that already in hand. In the first decade of the nineteenth century the most important income-producing property of the college was the land in Wheelock, Vermont. It will be remembered that one-half of this area was granted to Moor's School, the other to the college. Certain persons in Vermont became suspicious of the first of these grants. They maintained, with truth, that the school had no corporate existence and they asserted, with some degree of justification, that it had no real existence; that it was simply a mask for the president who was subject to no control or oversight in the application of its funds. In 1800 the agitation promised to become dangerous through threatened action of the legislature of Vermont and that danger was not lessened by the fact that a prominent member of the protesting party was a trustee of the college, Judge Niles, who, in this, as in other respects, had become distrustful of the president's methods of administration and, perhaps, even suspicious of his honesty. So much bitterness was aroused by the incident that at a meeting of the trustees in August, 1800, it was

Voted to proceed to an enquiry into certain reports which have been said to be in circulation respecting measures taken with regard to the township of Wheelock by the Hon. N. Niles unfavorable to the interests of this institution which are suggested by Mr. Swift.

Voted that Wm. Woodward be a committee to make enquiry respecting the reports mentioned in the preceding vote & procure evidence respecting them to be laid before this board at the next session & when any affidavits are taken the said Woodward is directed to notify Mr. Niles thereof and it is expected that when Mr. Niles takes his evidence he will give notice thereof to said Woodward.

This action would lead one to think that serious contention was hardly to be avoided, but Judge Niles having given some sort of explanation and the unrest in the legislature having for the time died down, it was voted in 1801 that the matter should be dropped. In 1806, however, the agitation was revived; stimulated, it would

appear, by complaints from inhabitants of Wheelock that the college and school, whose possessions in the town, by provision of the charter, were free from taxation, were not doing their share toward the support of public improvements. A legislative committee reported that, while on account of terms of the charter, relief could not be afforded by an imposition of taxation upon the college lands, possibly a remedy of a more fundamental nature might be available. Once more it was asserted that Moor's School had no existence as a corporation. John Wheelock was not accountable to anyone in its management. It was also asserted that this aspect of the organization of the school had been utterly misrepresented to the legislature which had made the original grant, and that, under such circumstances, the charter might legally be declared void as having been obtained by fraud. In a spirit of conciliation, however, the recommendation was made that both school and college should surrender their original titles to the Wheelock land and that the whole area should then be re-granted to the college alone, so that a responsible board of trustees should be placed in charge of the management of the funds. This was a fair offer, it was an arrangement that subsequent presidents tried in vain to secure, but John Wheelock was entirely averse to it, as taking from him all personal control over the school. Instead, he proposed a compulsory union of the offices of president of school and of the college, so that they should always be held by the same person. As a result, the president of Moor's School would be in some degree subject to the control of the college trustees. The legislature, quite reasonably, regarded this suggestion as a subterfuge and at its next session (1807) convened in a distinctly belligerent mood. It voted that suit should at once be entered for revocation of the Wheelock charter, on the ground that it was originally obtained by fraud, that none of the purposes for which the school was founded were at that time being carried out, and that the school had never had a legal existence. In the ordinary process of the law the suit, thus entered, was continued a year for notice. During that time the president set himself with all care to meet the emergency. He stated his case in very elaborate and convincing fashion, in a pamphlet written in collaboration with Judge Stephen Jacob of Windsor, a trustee, and at the meeting of the

legislature in Montpelier in 1808 he was on hand fully equipped with the arguments which had been so carefully prepared. He gave detailed reasons why the suit should be withdrawn, and very good reasons they were. He proved that Moor's School had had a continuous existence for sixty-four years, that no one had questioned its capacity for holding and transferring property during all that time, that the Wheelock lands had been in its hands for twenty-two years without any question regarding their title, that the accounts of the school had been properly kept and audited and were open to inspection and survey, and that the original purposes of the institution had been and were still being carried out. Moreover, having finally, although with reluctance, yielded to the force of necessity, he had secured from the legislature of New Hampshire an act of quasi-incorporation. A law passed by that body in 1807, added to and explained by another of 1808, provided that the trustees of the college should likewise act as trustees of the school, and should be jointly responsible with the president for its management; which, upon interpretation, seems to mean that each should have veto power over the acts of the other. As a final stroke, Wheelock was thus able to show that the management of the school was not a one-man affair, but was subject to the inspection and oversight of a responsible board. The logic of the case thus presented was overwhelming and altogether too perfect for the legislature to resist. By a vote of 126 to 55 it rescinded its former action, it confirmed the title of the school to the disputed area and ordered the suit to be withdrawn. That was the end of the difficulties with the authorities of Vermont.

By these various transactions during Wheelock's presidency the landed property of the institution had much changed in nature and extent, but it still wore the aspect of an imposing estate. Unfortunately the annual income from it was surprisingly small. Thus in 1805 an inventory showed that the college owned 22,415 acres of land and the school about 11,500 acres. Of the college land, 12,715 acres were rented, yielding a revenue of \$1227, while the income to the school was about \$610. The remainder was unproductive. In 1807, 23,000 acres were added to the college holdings by the receipt of the second grant.

Despite the chronically distressed condition of the college finance, it was obvious that the officers of instruction could not continue to exist on the annual allowance of £80 (\$266) assigned to them as salaries in 1782. It was established, as a general policy, that the entire income from tuition should be devoted to payment of the teaching force. As this was the item of college income which grew most rapidly with the growth of the college itself, it was possible to make fairly constant increases in professional stipends, although the results were not such as to permit any considerable expenditure for purple and fine linen on the part of incumbents of the offices. Thus in 1786 the salaries became £90, in 1789 £100, (\$333) and in 1795 a temporary grant on account of the depressed condition of the currency raised the amount to \$400, at which sum it was definitely fixed in 1796, to remain at that point until 1804. The first of the tutors, in 1788, received £60, a salary which was later increased to £70. The trustees did their best to care for cases of emergency. Professor John Smith several times received special grants "on account of past sickness and expense of his family" and Mrs. Ripley, left in distressful circumstances by the death of her husband in 1787, also was paid a small stipend for several years. In 1804 the salary of a professor was made \$500, and in 1807, \$600. A little later an additional sum of \$100 was awarded as a temporary grant on account of depreciation of the currency, and this bonus was continued annually for the rest of John Wheelock's term, so that \$700 was the real stipend for the closing years of that period. The pay of a tutor ranged from \$270 in 1804 to \$300 and board in 1814. The president, whose salary was placed at £200 in 1786, received \$912 in 1814. In addition, he received substantial amounts from graduation fees. It must be remembered, however, that payments were made only when money was available and that a condition of hungering expectancy for salaries long overdue was the normal state of the professor.

The financial condition of the college in these years may best be understood by considering the accounts of the treasurer. The statements given below are taken from the reports of 1814. The first table summarizes the debts owed to the institution and those owed by it.

is that its troubles were not infinitely worse. That it actually increased in strength and prestige during this period is to be placed to the credit of John Wheelock. The bitter contentions of the closing years of his administration have raised so opaque a cloud about him that the high value of his services in his earlier days have been quite obscured. Even fair-minded historians have hardly been able to look past the defects of his age to the merits of his youth. Despite the fact that he almost brought her to ruin, few men associated with Dartmouth can justly claim more credit than he who so guided her destinies that she advanced from the unpromising state of a small school in the wilderness to a recognized position among the educational institutions of the land.



CHAPTER VI

The Inner Life of the College

IN any account of an educational institution, material affairs are likely to be so stressed as to throw the picture out of focus. Lands, buildings, funds, endowments, are more or less permanent, records of them are likely to be preserved, they lend themselves easily to classification and description. But, important as they are, they do not tell us much about the real college. Who were the students, what was their character, what was the educational theory in vogue, what were its objects, what was the nature of its teaching body, what was studied and why, and how well were the purposes of the institution attained? These are the questions of real significance. They are not easy to answer. The information is scattered and difficult to collect, and the conclusions to be drawn from it are never so clear as might be wished; much must be left to individual interpretation. However, no true picture of the institution can be gained without some attempt to estimate these factors of its being so vital in their significance. Let us, therefore, ask ourselves the question, over what kind of an educational enterprise did John Wheelock preside?

In the first place, it is apparent that even in those days Dartmouth College was not a local institution. In its earliest years, at a time when that region was as remote from Hanover as Colorado is today, more students came to it from Connecticut than from any other state. The reason lay in the attachment of large numbers of the populace to the New Light movement, their esteem for the elder

Wheelock as one of its most prominent leaders, and the fact that Yale turned rather a cold shoulder to those who held this particular point of view. The attraction of the college to the more rigid Calvinists of Connecticut did not cease with Wheelock's death, but continued well into the last decade of the eighteenth century. By that time, however, the violence of these theological differences had died away and the disadvantages of distance began to assert themselves, so that the number of students from Connecticut experienced a sharp decline. By this time, too, the total attendance had become fairly stable. From 1800 to the catastrophe in 1815, the average was about 150, the number rising to a maximum of 197 in 1810. In the early part of this period Massachusetts furnished the largest number of students, but respectable delegations came from Maine and Vermont. Two reasons contributed to this rather abnormal distribution of enrollment; first, the lack of institutions of collegiate grade in Vermont, Maine and Western Massachusetts, and, second, the fact that the cost of living at Dartmouth was low, and the institution was thus enabled to draw, to a certain extent, from the natural constituency of Harvard and Yale. Never during the time under consideration did students from New Hampshire constitute a majority, although in the latter part of the period more came from that state than from any other. Curiously enough, it was only after the upheaval of 1815, which alienated so large a portion of the people of the state from the college, that New Hampshire students began to outnumber all others combined. The change in distribution thus brought about is probably to be ascribed to the growth of newly established institutions in other regions (Williams, Amherst, Middlebury, Vermont and Bowdoin), which filled places in territories previously unoccupied.

The period in question in New England was not one in which every parent of standing in the community looked to college as the normal destination of any boy of his whose mental capacity did not fall below a low level of mediocrity. There was little wealth in the land; most people achieved a livelihood that was sure, but to be wrested from the forces of nature only by the most arduous toil, with little beyond a bare subsistence to be hoped for. In many cases the vision of the father through life had been so steadily fixed on

the furrow or the bench that a conception of another fate for his child was beyond his ken. To him a college career was not within the pale of understanding. Even with more ambitious persons who formed the dream of better things for their sons, the parent was seldom free from lingering doubt as to the entire desirability of the experiment or the value of the result. The horny-handed father who said, as so many did, of a son of mental promise who was averse to manual toil: "He will have to earn a living with his head for he can never do so with his hands," expressed in the statement equal parts of pride and contempt. It is fairly certain that had Daniel Webster been a boy of sturdy physique, enthusiastic for, or even docile to, the demands of a New Hampshire farm, he would have passed his life wrestling with the paternal acres for his support. At any rate, that was the fate reserved by the father for the older brother, Ezekiel, almost as brilliant as Daniel himself. And real significance lurked behind the jocular lament of a still older brother that their father was having to spend so much money in sending Daniel to college that he might thereby become as bright as the rest of the family were by natural gifts. It is quite evident that parents would be reluctant to make so costly a sacrifice as that involved by a college training for youths whose intellectual capacities did not warrant it. If it seemed to be justifiable, however, in numberless instances the sacrifice was actually made. A real sacrifice it was; one in which the whole family shared, and the youth, knowing full well what it meant, could hardly fail to be inspired to put forth his best efforts to justify it. Moreover, in other cases, youths under the dominance of fathers unsympathetic with their ambitions, who may have been held as unpaid laborers as long as the paternal power prevailed, may have entered at twenty-one upon the studies which should have been begun at thirteen, and literally have wrested an education from the forces arrayed against them, with no assistance beyond their undaunted determination and the work of their hands. Of boys with backgrounds such as these the student body of the college was largely composed. By the mere force of circumstances a "selective process" was in operation which probably has never been equalled in efficiency in the history of the college.

Under these conditions of penury it was evident that college expenses must be reduced to the utmost limit, and the institution seems to have put forth every effort to attain that end. In 1779 tuition charges were fixed at 20 shillings a quarter, or, in modern terms, \$13.32 a year, to which \$1 was added for incidental charges. In 1801 the fee was increased to \$4 a quarter and again, in 1807, to \$20 a year. An additional fee was imposed upon seniors, partly for the degree and the commencement dinner, but partly as one of the time-honored perquisites of the president. Before the building of the "New College," room rentals ranged from 16 to 24 shillings a year. Rooms in the new building commanded higher prices, and at the end of the period the yearly rentals varied from \$9 to \$18. The majority of the students preferred to lodge in private houses, so that it was found necessary to assess rentals for all rooms in the college which should remain vacant upon those who failed to take advantage of the opportunity afforded them. After the closing of the Kinsman commons in 1793, the college took no responsibility for boarding arrangements until 1805. In that year the students submitted a petition to the trustees asking for relief from the exactions of boarding houses in the village. They asserted that not more than half of their number could secure board at reasonable rates and that the remainder were forced to board themselves, a condition which, if continued, would force large numbers to leave the institution by the following year. The trustees made an immediate response by appointing Ebenezer Woodward as steward, at a salary of \$300 a year, to be raised by an assessment of 10 cents a week on each of the students. He was to supply board at actual cost, which, however, was limited to a maximum of \$1.34 a week. As a matter of fact, it amounted to about \$1.20. Woodward set up the establishment in his own house, a rambling, one-story structure called the Acropolis, erected by Eleazar Wheelock, Jr., on the slopes of Observatory Hill. Needless to say, the arrangement was not a success, and in 1807 the trustees purchased the Kinsman "house, barn, garden and land adjoining" for \$3800, "no part of the principal to be payable for seven years." Here a boarding establishment was instituted, but it was subject to the usual type of student criticism and to frequent change of management. After many vexatious experiences, it was

finally determined in 1814 to discontinue it, and no further attempt at college control of boarding facilities was made for nearly ninety years. In the light of requirements for necessary expenses, it is evident that an annual expenditure of \$150 by the undergraduate was ample for his support, while existence was possible on as small an amount as \$100 a year. That this estimate is justified is apparent from the accounts of Amos Kendall, of the class of 1811, which show a total expenditure of \$570 for his college course.

Moderate as these financial demands upon the student may seem to us, they assumed portentous dimensions in the minds of those who were subject to them. In fact, in many cases no possibility existed that they could be met in full, and the college, as least exacting in its requirements, was the last to be paid. The treasurer's accounts of 1806 may be cited as an example of the normal condition of undergraduate indebtedness. The graduating class of that year had left Hanover owing the college \$1222.18. Of its thirty-nine members, but six had paid their charges in full, while the remaining thirty-three owed sums ranging from forty cents to \$98.07. The other three classes, numbering 116 men, had overdue accounts amounting to \$2317.47, only six of the entire undergraduate body being at that time under no liability to the college. The outstanding unpaid charges of members of these four classes was \$3540.65, while the unpaid accounts of graduates of previous years added materially to the sum. At the period in question no money was available for scholarship aid, but the institution, in place of such grants, was running what in essence amounted to an extensive loan fund, with the limit of individual loans frequently amounting to as much as the sum total of college charges. No one was permitted to receive his degree without giving an interest-bearing note for the amount due, endorsed by persons acceptable to the treasurer. In that way the security of the institution was supposed to be guarded. It is true that by far the larger portion of these notes was paid with reasonable promptness, but many were very slow of collection and some were never paid at all. The difference between accounts reckoned as receivable on the books and the amounts which could actually be collected makes the difference between the cheerful aspect of treas-

urer's accounts, characteristic of the times, and the real impecuniosity of the college.

Few were the undergraduates of the time who did not labor under the necessity of supplementing income from home by their own earnings, and many of them were entirely dependent upon their own resources. Opportunities for gainful employment were not abundant in Hanover and some curious expedients are recorded. Thus Samuel Hidden, of the class of 1791, having determined at the age of twenty-seven to enter college in order to prepare himself for the ministry, was in dire financial straits. His biographer records:

At the commencement of his second year he and Mr. Ebenezer Price of Gilmanton, then about to enter college . . . drove a cow to Hanover subsisting upon milk on their journey thither and when there. This lessened their expenses and was considered highly commendable.

Hidden also had some skill as a shoemaker and practiced his art, more or less secretly, in his room, evidently under the impression that such employment was not exactly in consonance with the dignity of the real college man. While busily at work he was surprised by the advent of President Wheelock, who dumped beside him all the family footwear which he had been able to collect, with the request that it be put into satisfactory condition. Buttressed in this way by the support of the highest authority, the student shoemaker pursued his course henceforth in calm content. But it was mainly in the work of teaching that the Dartmouth student of those days found his financial salvation. In the rural New England of the period the district schools in the spring and fall, if they were run at all, were unimportant affairs attended only by the smaller fry, who could be safely trusted to the ministrations of a woman teacher, but in winter the big boys could be released from the work of the farm for a period of "schoolin'" and so could the older girls. No woman, it was supposed, could control such a group; the authority and muscular potency of a man was needed, and the district officers turned to the impecunious students of the country college, such as Dartmouth, for their supply. The demand could always be relied upon. Thus in December, 1803, William Dewey, a resident of the village,

wrote, "The students are all gone but one or two. So great is the demand for schoolmasters this winter that not two-thirds of the persons employed to hire masters could do it." The college accommodated its schedule to the necessities of the occasion. Commencement, late in August, was followed by a vacation of four weeks. The fall term, beginning about October 1, continued until the last week in December, when a vacation of eight weeks ensued. The winter term, beginning at the end of February, ran till the last of May and was separated by a two-weeks' vacation from the summer term, which continued until Commencement. Thus eight weeks in January and February were free of college work, while, as a matter of fact, much of the ensuing winter term was actually taken by the teacher for the completion of his period of service. During that time, although the college was supposed to be in session, the village wore a deserted aspect, with hardly enough students in attendance to keep clear from snow the paths across the green. College exercises thus lost were supposed to be "made up," but the process never could have been particularly onerous, nor the requirements very severe. In extreme cases of financial need even greater liberty was allowed. Thus Amos Kendall records that in his freshman year he did not appear at all in Hanover until March, while Ezekiel Webster spent more than half of what was theoretically his college career in absence from alma mater. The scholastic standard under which such liberties could be allowed may be well imagined, and in later periods the custom was frequently referred to in terms hardly flattering to the intellectual reputation of the institution. Nevertheless, the lad who underwent the trials of the district school was not in all respects a loser from the experience. He embarked on the enterprise with full knowledge that a contest was before him; a contest which was to decide whether he or the boys under his charge were to control. For success he needed knowledge of boys and girls and tact in their management, but most of all he needed strong muscles and a ready wit, quickly at his disposal when tact would no longer avail. Occasionally a schoolmaster departed from the scene of his activities through an impulse not his own, but most of them succeeded in dominating the situation. His authority once established, the life of the teacher in the rural community was not without its

attractions. He was a valued member of society, a partaker in all its festivities, a leader in many of its activities. The picture painted by Whittier in *Snow Bound*, in which the schoolmaster is represented as entertaining in the evening the family, warmly housed against the storm,

*With song, and tales of what befalls
In classic Dartmouth's College halls,*

a picture supposed to have been drawn from Joshua Coffin of the class of 1817, depicts the experience of many a Dartmouth undergraduate of the older days in the fastnesses of rural New England. And when the youth returned to his college tasks, it was often apparent that pockets well lined with his earnings were not the only assets which he brought back to Hanover. The raw, uncouth boy, who had departed in December, returned in April with some measure of the poise and self-command to be acquired only by the exercise of responsibility and authority. Values came from the experience, although they were not, perhaps, exactly the values which it was the prime purpose of the college to impart. The practice of supplementing other income by earnings from a winter school lasted in the college to the time of alumni of the institution still alive, and it gave to Dartmouth, for a long period, a preeminence in the field of rural education in New England.

Not only were the financial demands of the college relatively limited, but the scholastic requirements for admission were hardly of an exacting order. In the code of laws passed by the trustees in 1796 it was provided that the entering student should be examined in Virgil, Cicero's select orations, the Greek Testament and the "fundamental rules of arithmetic," and must be able accurately to translate English into Latin. This was the total of the requirements for the greater part of the period, but in 1814 they were increased by the addition of Sallust, a collection called *Graeca Minora* and "common arithmetic as far as square root." Candidates for the freshman class were expected to appear at Commencement for examination, an exercise which was conducted orally by individual members of the faculty. Most of the candidates met the test; those who did not were recommended to study in Moor's School for the four weeks' vacation period and to try their luck again at its conclusion.

Many of the embryo undergraduates had carried their preparatory studies beyond this point, and the number entering the upper classes was considerable. In fact, it was often true that the graduates in a given class numbered more than those who entered it as freshmen, despite the dropping out of a very considerable proportion of these freshmen before completing their course. Preparation for freshman year, however, was not a time-consuming process. Thus Daniel Webster in May, 1796, at the age of fourteen, was enrolled in Phillips-Exeter Academy. There he studied English grammar, writing and arithmetic, adding in the autumn the pursuit of Latin. He left Exeter in December and, after teaching school for a term, in February, 1797, went under the private instruction of the Reverend Samuel Wood of Boscawen. With this tutor he read Virgil and Tully, and in the spring he began Greek. In August of that year he was admitted to college. He thus completed his entire preparation in a little over a year of actual study. George Ticknor was examined by President Wheelock and given a certificate of admission when he was but eleven years of age, although he did not actually enter college until a later period. These instances are not to be considered as the special cases of unusually brilliant boys, but as common among the rank and file. In particular, those whose college ambitions were formed at a somewhat advanced age seldom required a long period for preparation. It is no wonder that the conscientious pedagogue, Professor John Smith, wrote:

Is it at all probable that a class only superficially versed in two, three or four books of the Aeneid, four, five or six orations in Tully, two or three books of the Evangelists in Greek, and eighteen or twenty chapters of Clark's Introduction to the making of Latin, can in the course of four years, when the extensive field of the arts and sciences must be travelled over, be thorough and accurate scholars? Although here and there an extraordinary genius may surmount such difficulties, yet . . . the case is rare. I have found by experience that young gentlemen so poorly qualified for admission into college, generally, if in the term of their academic education they attend so much to the languages as to be pretty thorough masters of them, prove deficient in the arts and sciences, and if they omit the languages they are thorough in nothing.

Smith played with the idea of resigning his position to found a preparatory school where really thorough work should be done; a conception which he was never to realize.

Once admitted to the institution, the student found the curriculum of the college to be as rigid and inexorable as fate. Each man, regardless of his tastes or interests, must follow implicitly the arrangement fixed by the powers above. There was nothing taught which every student must not study; no course was given which was not prescribed to all. For three years, two-thirds of the time was devoted to Latin and Greek. The other third was assigned to arithmetic, English grammar, logic, geography, geometry, trigonometry, algebra, conic sections, surveying, mensuration, natural and moral philosophy, and astronomy; a multiplicity of subjects which makes it apparent that the acquaintance gained by a student with any one of them must have been of the slightest. In senior year the classics were discontinued, the attention of the student was turned to metaphysics, theology and "political law," and his blossoming intellect, now thoroughly prepared by his intensive pursuit of Latin and Greek, was further developed by contact with such masters as John Locke, Jonathan Edwards, and Dugald Stewart. Much attention was paid to composition and public speaking. Declamations were required in chapel every Wednesday, the classes being called in rotation. In addition, seniors, juniors and sophomores were called upon for orations three times a year, but no oration could be "exhibited" within four miles of Hanover until it had been "revised and approved" by someone in authority. After the foundation of the medical school, undergraduate students were allowed to take advantage of the work of that institution, upon payment of a suitable fee. Despite the expense involved, nearly half of the juniors and seniors, most of whom had no idea of embracing a medical career, took advantage of the opportunity to attend the lectures in chemistry and anatomy, a result which was due in part to the drawing power of Nathan Smith, who was probably the best teacher in Hanover, and in part to the desire to break away from the trammels of the traditional curriculum.

Traditional the curriculum was, and as fixed as the rock of ages. There was no inquiry as to individual tastes, no attempt to meet

individual needs. It was supposed that the wisdom of educational leaders had settled for all time the question of what was best for any man to study in order to acquire a "liberal education." In this respect Dartmouth does not seem to have differed from other New England institutions. Interesting educational experiments were being tried elsewhere, but to them the New England college was almost immune. In fact, until within the memory of living men, Dartmouth was ultra-conservative in her attitude toward innovations in the curriculum; among the last to adopt any departure from time-honored methods and ideals. But while the system was rigid, the requirements of scholastic attainment do not appear to have been high. In fact, one of the puzzles of the period is the lack of records concerning the fate of students who were incompetent, indifferent or lazy. So long as a student was not compelled to leave college on account of poverty, and so long as he was not forcibly ejected as a result of misconduct, he seems to have remained in peace, passing from class to class without much question, and finally receiving his degree as a matter of course. It may be that records of action in cases of scholastic failure have not been preserved, it may be that there were no students of subnormal intellect or industry, but it is more likely that the standards were such as to make few demands even on the lowest stratum of the student body.

The routine of the day bore some similarity to that of a penal institution. In the morning the college assembled in the chapel at five, or, in the winter, "as early as the President could see to read in the Bible." No artificial lights were provided and no heat, so on winter mornings the sleepy undergraduates, wrapped in their warmest clothing, huddled together in an endeavor to keep as warm as circumstances would permit. Upon conclusion of the religious exercises, they were summoned to the first recitation, each of the four classes to its special room. The college provided the apartment, but the class was required to furnish it at its own expense (with chair and table for the instructor, a small blackboard, stove and a double row of unpainted pine benches) and also to provide fuel and lights. After these spiritual and intellectual efforts, the student was probably ready for the breakfast which followed. Then came a period of study, with a second recitation held at eleven, followed by dinner.

Another period of study ensued, and then the afternoon class at three or four. Evening prayers were held at six, "or as late as the president was able to see." On Wednesday afternoon no class was held, but in place of it rhetorical exercises in conjunction with the chapel service. On Saturday afternoon no exercises were held, except evening prayers. Such was the schedule for the three lower classes, although fewer regular exercises were required of seniors. Periods between classes were not at the free disposal of the student. Hours for recreation during the summer were limited to the time between the close of the morning exercise and eight o'clock, between the close of the eleven o'clock recitation and two, and between evening prayers and nine. Owing to scantiness of daylight hours the schedule was modified in winter, but the total free time was about the same. At all other periods the student was supposed to be in his room and at work. Members of the instructing force were enjoined to visit each "chamber" at least once a week, to make sure that its occupant was properly busy, a duty which was conscientiously performed. On Sunday, the usual morning and evening chapel services were held, and, in addition, attendance upon the two sessions of church was required; four religious exercises in a single day. Students were strictly forbidden to leave their rooms (except for these exercises and for their meals) on the Lord's day, "nor could they do business, nor walk abroad, nor make indecent noise nor clamor." That there might be no temptation to sinful study on the Sabbath, no morning recitation was held on Monday, but instead, after breakfast, a biblical exercise, preparation for which was not considered to be a misuse of the holy day.

Material aids to study the college did its best to provide, but they were not particularly effective. The elder Wheelock placed high value upon a library and brought to Hanover a considerable collection of books, the majority of them of a theological character, obtained from the pious as donations. In recent years they have been laboriously sought for among the accumulated volumes of a hundred and sixty years. The majority of them were found, and with the construction of the Baker Library were installed in a room of their own, furnished according to the style of the period, so that the original library may now be seen much as it was in Wheelock's

day. Bezaleel Woodward was librarian, and at first the books were kept in his house. Later the library was moved to the old College Hall and afterwards, in 1783, to President Wheelock's house. Upon the erection of the New College, the middle room on the first floor was set aside for books. John Smith was appointed librarian in 1779 and retained the position until his death, thirty years later. By gifts and purchases the volumes increased so that in 1802 they numbered about 3000. Many of these volumes were duplicates and a large portion of them were theological tomes, even at that time of interest to no one. A fee (\$1.50 a year) was assessed on each student for library privileges, one quarter of this sum to go to the librarian. That the "privileges" were not particularly extensive may be deduced from the rules in the early days. The library room was open to each class for the withdrawal of books one hour every two weeks, not more than five students could be in the library at any one time, and no one was permitted to take down a book from the shelves without permission of the librarian. Freshmen were allowed one volume at a time, sophomores and juniors, two, and seniors, three. As a matter of fact, the college library was justly held in little esteem in comparison with the collections of Societies, later to be described. Nevertheless, it is not to be inferred that little reading was done during this period. Although great diversity is to be found among individual students, the records indicate a considerable use of the various collections, and the reading was of a very substantial, not to say heavy, character. It had to be, for few books of a different nature were available. Thus Ephraim Smedley of the class of 1793, who not only read but meticulously set down how much he read, tells us that his record in sophomore year was 7913 pages, and he thus moralizes concerning it, "A very small number of pages to read but a few well attended are better than a large number slightly run over." He died at the end of that year. The college was also in possession of a nondescript collection of "curiosities" which was called a museum. Just what its educational value was is not clear, but John Wheelock was inordinately proud of it. In particular, he esteemed highly a stuffed zebra, the gift of that shipping mogul of Salem, Elias Hasket Derby. The animal, unlike a properly regulated museum piece, was in the habit of appearing in incongruous places,

such as the roof of the chapel or the belfry of the "College," thus requiring laborious transportation back to its normal abode. Almost equally dear to the presidential heart was another stuffed specimen, vaguely known as "the great bird." All this valuable material has disappeared in the lapse of time.

The teaching staff in John Wheelock's early years consisted of himself, his two brothers-in-law, Sylvanus Ripley and Bezaleel Woodward, and John Smith. All these men served as tutors as well as professors, and no person classed separately in the former category was appointed until Ripley's death in 1787. From that time one tutor was elected each year, and later two of them. A tutor was supposed to teach a class, while a professor taught a subject. Thus, when two tutors were on the ground, one was assigned to the freshmen, teaching practically all the subjects studied by that class, while the other did similar duty for the sophomores. The dignified and weighty responsibility of teacher of the senior class was entirely in the hands of the president. That left the professors with no apparent task except the instruction of juniors; a division of labor which seems quite inequitable. In fact, Nathan Smith, at the latter part of the period, referred to the professors as "a pack of literary drones," an expression, carelessly thrown out, which he probably was not pleased to see in bold print in the controversial pamphlets of 1815. The division of labor was probably not as unfair as it seems. Very likely each of the professors had some share in the instruction of freshmen and sophomores, the majority of them held some other office in connection with the college, and each was expected annually to "exhibit" public lectures in his department of learning. Nevertheless, the president and the tutors must have carried the bulk of the work. To the latter our sympathies go out. In their teaching they not only had to do with the two lower classes, the most difficult to control, but they were required to room in "College," to board in commons, to exercise constant watch over college discipline, and to be subject to constant annoyance from unregenerate youth. For the most part the tutors were recent graduates, with perhaps a year or so of subsequent training in theology. We should like to know more about them, but they were ephemeral creatures and had little influence on the institution as a whole, though much

on the particular classes under their charge. Three of them subsequently became of importance in college history: Francis Brown as president, Roswell Shurtleff as professor, and Asa McFarland as a leading trustee.

Of the three original professors, Ripley was the first to disappear. He died in 1787. No Professor of Divinity was appointed to succeed him until 1804, when Roswell Shurtleff was elected to that position. Woodward, who died in 1804, was followed in the professorship of mathematics and philosophy by John Hubbard, and upon the death of the latter, in 1810, by Ebenezer Adams. John Smith died in 1809. Ebenezer Adams succeeded him in the position of Professor of the Learned Languages for a year, and was then transferred to the department of mathematics. Zephaniah Swift Moore was appointed to the chair of languages in 1810, but resigned to become President of Williams College in 1815. These are the officers who, by the permanency of their tenure, had much to do with molding the educational policy of the college. Of them we need to know more.

About the teaching ability of Sylvanus Ripley we know very little. Those letters from him which have been preserved indicate that he was a kindly person, genial and friendly in his relationships with men. He met a tragic fate. Returning from a preaching service at Hanover Center on a cold and windy Sunday in the winter of 1786-87, the sleigh in which he was riding struck an obstruction in the road at Etna and he was thrown violently upon his head, suffering injuries from which he died on the following day. Fifty years later William Dewey recalled the great concourse of people which assembled at the funeral, despite the dark and stormy aspect of the weather, and asserted that never in his life had he attended a service "where there was such evident indication that all were sincere mourners." He remarked, moreover, that Ripley "knew all the children of the village & precious is his memory to one still left, and they all knew and loved him and were as sensible of their loss as the older population." Such a man cannot have failed to exercise a potent influence on the student body.

Of Bezaleel Woodward we have already heard much. He was eminently a practical man, always a reliance when matters of business were to be considered. In addition to his political activity, al-

ready described, he took charge of the college in the interregnum following Eleazar Wheelock's death, he was treasurer of the institution for twenty-three years, and for a much longer period justice of the local court, the records of which, always carefully kept, are still preserved. He was manager of one of the college lotteries and a member of the committee which erected the village church. Unlike the other permanent members of the teaching staff, he was not obsequiously subservient to the authority of the Wheelocks. While of a conciliatory temper, he had a mind of his own and was not averse to assuming a position in opposition to the wishes of "authority," if he thought the occasion demanded it. Thus he was the cause of occasional periods of friction in the management of the college, although none of them were lasting or particularly serious. One of his students, Samuel Swift of the class of 1800, writes of him:

Bezaleel Woodward . . . was in everything the reverse of Professor Smith and President Wheelock. There was nothing scholastic about his appearance or manners. He was a man of plain and informal manners and mingled in society as other men who had no connection with a college. He was more popular with the students than either of the permanent officers.

Curiously enough, in the various estimates of Woodward, we find no mention of his teaching ability. So clear-headed, lucid and unpretentious a man must, however, have been successful in that calling.

We know most of the third member of the group, Professor John Smith. He was the only one of the three professors who had any pretensions to productive scholarship, the principal fruits of which were a Latin, a Greek and a Hebrew grammar, all of which were published, a Chaldee grammar which never saw print, and an edition of Cicero's *De Oratore* with notes and a life of the orator. He was regarded by the students as a man of great scholastic attainments, but not of much account in other respects. Thus Judah Dana, of the class of 1795, writes that he was "the best linguist in New England but did not know beans about anything else." There is no question, however, of his industry or of the uncomplaining patience with which he bore the infliction of tasks seemingly be-

yond the power of one man to perform. After the death of Ripley no professor of theology was appointed, and the students were thus no longer "receiving the benefit" of lectures in that subject. This deficiency was considered to be highly lamentable and Smith was asked to fill the gap. At this time he was hearing the recitations of two classes, he was pastor of the churches on both sides of the river, a duty requiring two sermons each Sunday, he was librarian, he was carrying an extra class in Hebrew, and he had the duty of correcting all the exercises that were spoken on the stage. Despite these demands, he acceded to the request, prepared laboriously a set of lectures (the manuscript of them still survives) and for two years delivered one each Saturday evening at college prayers. His wife said of him:

But it is almost impossible to have a correct view of the disadvantages under which these labors were performed without having witnessed them, his only study for many years was a small room which was constantly occupied by his family and all the company he had to entertain, which was by no means few in number, but amidst all these hindrances he sat at his desk with his attention immovably fixed upon the studies which he happened to be employed in, as if alone in the world, and here he wrote and rewrote everything he published.

Candor, however, must compel the admission that both in the pulpit and in the classroom this singularly busy and conscientious pedagogue was a man of monumental dullness. His manners were exceedingly formal and his physical appearance undistinguished. He was slow of wit, easily flustered and a shining mark for the ridicule of the undergraduates. Moreover, his personal timidity had been made a matter of common repute on account of a headlong entrance into the old College in the early days with the terrified announcement that he had been chased by a bear and two cubs, animals which, upon investigation, turned out to be three tree stumps on the green. This story he was never able to live down. He was utterly servile in his devotion to the president, and unquestioning in the following of executive authority. He presents a pathetic figure of the man of high purpose, conscientious devotion, and un-

tiring industry, in whom these qualities were neutralized by lack of any trace of vital spark. Even in death he did not escape ridicule. Through a condensation by some malicious person of the address of the president, by which a relation of ideas became evident which was not apparent in the flowery original, the eulogist was made to say that it was Jason who saved the Golden Fleece, it was Hercules who killed the Erymanthian lion, and it was John Smith who wrote the learned grammars.

Of the later generation of teachers, John Hubbard, a graduate in the class of 1785, had served as preceptor of New Ipswich and Deerfield Academies and judge of probate of Cheshire county. He seems to have been a man of gentle disposition, and was liked and respected by those with whom he came in contact. His premature death was considered to be a real loss to the college. His family was left in precarious circumstances and the junior class "presented a mourning suit to the widow, which she received with uncontrollable emotion." The inscribed marble slab, still covering his grave in the village cemetery, was also a gift, in this case from the Social Friends. The fact that subscriptions for this particular purpose, in the case of some members of the faculty, would have encountered an enthusiastic response from undergraduates at all periods in the history of the college should not mislead us as to the real admiration of the students for Professor Hubbard and of their sympathy for his family.

Roswell Shurtleff, of the class of 1799, was elected to the professorship of divinity in 1804. He had already served as tutor for four years. The early period of his professorship was one of storm and stress, owing to the quarrels leading to the Dartmouth College Case, and he was never certain, from one year to another, how long he would be able to retain his post. He served as pastor of the community church from 1805 to 1827. He was a man of genial personality and popular with the undergraduates. Years later Arthur Livermore, of the class of 1829, thus wrote of him:

Shurtleff was a man of genial humor—shall I add wit? His words came forth in graceful order, without suspicion of having been marshalled, and he took pleasure in saying pleasant things. He expounded to us in our senior year the logic of Jonathan Edwards,

with the seriousness that would have adorned an exposition of the holy writ. He invited discussion and confounded us with syllogism.

As an example of the readiness of his wit, the following story told of him many years later by President Bartlett may be recorded:

Being once drawn into a theological discussion by a gentleman who wearied him by an advocacy of Unitarianism, he finally inquired, "What have you read on the subject?" "Well, I have read Dr. Channing and I have read the Bible." "Oh," said the professor, "I see you have read both sides," and dropped the subject.

He was in active service of the college until 1838, and remained, after his retirement, a highly esteemed resident of the village until his death in 1861.

Ebenezer Adams was a graduate in the class of 1791. He was a man of impressive physique and lusty voice. For a long period he was senior member of the faculty, and, as such, acting president in periods of interregnum or disability on the part of the incumbent of the office. He appears to have been a man of good practical sense. As a teacher he was formal and commonplace, giving to his students little opportunity for originality or independent thought. His sense of humor seems to have attained no high development, although he was not without aspirations in that direction. Thus Livermore says of him:

He did not seek for jocose expression, but in illustrating astronomy by the aid of a broken old orrery the misbehavior of the moon drew from him the remark that she seemed somewhat lunatic. The joke was so good, besides being his sole production, that he would never suffer the machine to be repaired, and thus he preserved the joke for each succeeding class.

He resigned his professorship in 1833 and died in 1841. He was more successful than were the Wheelocks in establishing a family dynasty, as is evident upon considering the long and valuable service to the college of his descendants, the Youngs and Proctors.

Zephaniah Swift Moore of the class of 1793 served the college too short a time to make much impression upon it. Afterwards, as Presi-

dent successively of Williams and Amherst, he acquired some degree of fame.

Nor should the influence of Nathan Smith be neglected. An excellent physician, who applied common sense to the treatment of disease to an extent unusual at the time, his main interest was in the realms of surgery. His practice spread far afield and he was a bold and daring operator, but his daring was always based on sound reason. As a teacher, Isaac Patterson, 1812, says of him:

He usually commenced [his lectures] with some anecdote that happened in his practice and proceeded in conversational style. His talk was full of practical instruction. You could not hear him without being convinced how thoroughly he understood his subject. He seemed to hold all the knowledge contained in the books and in other sources in solution. He would tell you how far the authorities went and how far short they came of imparting full information and his observations went far beyond the medical authors of his day. . . . He would sometimes joke the class upon the practice of physic, saying that it was questionable whether they could do any good or not, that it was a pleasant thing to be called doctor, sent for, consulted and that he did not see how they could get a living without; that in his own case, if anything was the matter with his family, he sent for old Mrs. Dewey.

But the center of the intellectual as well as of the material life of the college was John Wheelock. Tall, erect, muscular of figure, always immaculately dressed in small-clothes, knee breeches with buckles, and three-cornered cocked hat, moving with stiff and stately dignity about the village, he must have presented an impressive aspect. His most prominent physical characteristic was a nose of unusual size which is said to have constituted a perfect quadrant and which was the subject of occasional undergraduate ribaldry. A high degree of formality and an exaggerated politeness characterized his relations with other men and was especially in evidence in his dealings with the student body. The father of George Ticknor was one of his most intimate friends and the two families made one another's homes their headquarters when visiting in Boston and Hanover. Despite his frequent contact with the president from

childhood, Ticknor writes that "he never felt the smallest degree of familiarity with him nor did any of the students nor young men." The president was very parsimonious of his time and in receiving students who had business with him, finding them constitutionally unable to terminate the call when the business was finished, was accustomed to ask them with an air of extreme courtesy, "Will you sit longer or will you go now?" No case is on record in which the student "sat longer" after this polite question. Despite these traits, which seem to make of him a somewhat repellent and unlovely character, he amassed a large circle of friends who stood valiantly by him in his years of adversity. He had a sonorous voice and was a ready speaker, but what he said was not always highly impressive. On one occasion, having become strongly affected by information gained from attendance at a medical lecture, he astonished the students in chapel by booming forth in well-rounded periods, "Oh Lord, we thank Thee for the oxygen gas, for the hydrogen gas, for the mephitic gas, we thank Thee for all the gases. And we thank Thee for the cerebrum, for the cerebellum, for the medulla oblongata." In some quarters his literary style was also a subject of unfavorable comment. He evidently regarded ornament as the very essence of good writing so that he was likely heavily to burden what he had to say with flowery language and classical allusions. As an example of his style a letter written to Lord Dartmouth may be cited:

I always fear to intrude upon the great. But when the bright circle of Perage & rank displays the traces of virtue and universal love of our species a personage is viewed in another light & stands in a new relation to man. The world knows & feels it, my Lord, in the senate of one of the greatest empires that the sun beholds. They know it in another way for under your auspices the scions of the east have been engrafted into the wild olives of the western world, and an altar in the temple of Apollo is erected to a name that has deserved perpetuity.

Nevertheless, when "fine writing" was not the object, but some really tangible end was to be gained, John Wheelock could be as clear, logical, direct, and convincing as one might wish.

As a result of long poring over books, and of the classical, historical and theological lore which he accumulated, the president was supposed to be a very profound scholar. Early in his term of office he set himself to the task of writing a *Philosophical History of the Advancement of Nations with an Inquiry into the Causes of their Rise and Decline*. The work was a long and time-consuming production, but by 1800 it was done. Wheelock's friends, although in all probability none of them had read it, were much impressed by the high importance of this monument of learning, and one of them, Elijah Parish, upon hearing that it had been sold for \$500, lamented that such an act was worse than the sale of *Paradise Lost* for £5. A certain Boston bookseller named Nancrede undertook to publish it, but, upon consideration, came to the conclusion that it was best to bring out such an important production in England rather than in America. Nancrede took it to London and submitted it to a leading publisher, who placed it in the hands of a number of readers. Their opinion may be given in Nancrede's words:

Their ready and unanimous opinion was that the manuscript was a confused mass of facts, assertions, quotations and stories totally distinct in the different points they were to establish, irrelevant in their objects to each other and to any common established opinion, principle or sentiment which they, the examiners, could distinguish; that the language was not that of any man who could ever have written anything for the press, that the style was bad and antient. They added that they could not all agree as to the view of the writer, but they all readily said that whatever of the many subjects mentioned was to be considered the subject of the book, a vast deal of information and all the light thrown on very many of the subjects of which it speaks for twenty years past was not even noticed; that many works, several of which they mentioned, had not been named.

With this blasting criticism ended all thought of publication, and Wheelock's pretensions to a career of productive scholarship received a final check. If the two pages of manuscript still preserved are a sample of the whole, we must agree that the opinion of the readers was entirely justified.

The president's activities in connection with the scholastic side of the college were extensive. He conducted morning and evening prayers. He presided over the literary exercises and public discussions and criticized the performances of the embryo orators. For over twenty-three years he delivered weekly two lectures on systematic theology and for ten years one weekly lecture on ecclesiastical history. During his whole presidency he had entire charge of the work of the senior class. Satisfactory as were his endeavors from a quantitative point of view, it appears that their quality left much to be desired. Samuel Swift (1800) says of him:

He was not considered by them (the senior class) as a profitable or popular Teacher. His Knowledge and his instruction were mostly confined to the book. He was much of a recluse and mingled little in public or private with the world and seemed to know little of it.

Testimony to this effect is so often confirmed from other sources that it must be regarded as conclusive. On the other hand, as a disciplinarian Wheelock was entirely successful. Although not admired by those under his charge, he was respected by most of them and particularly feared by those who had broken the bonds of college authority. He understood young men and was fully capable of handling the rough and disorderly student body of the period. While occasions for disciplinary action were frequent, such action was effective and well calculated to achieve the desired ends. No one was able to impose upon John Wheelock or even to oppose him without feeling the full weight of his formidable personality.

The point of view of the early Dartmouth teacher and his methods of instruction were not such as particularly to appeal to the modern educator. The conception seems to have been that the student should acquire the information of selected authors, and accept without question their conclusions. The main purpose of the recitation was to ascertain how well the student had performed that duty, rather than to supply him with additional information or to discuss various points of view. "What does the book say?" "What are the author's conclusions?" Such were the questions asked, not as preliminary to a further development of the theme, but as the end of the matter. Then, as now, some of the students were very critical

of the prevailing methods. Thus George Ticknor says of his undergraduate career:

I learnt very little. The instructors generally were not as good teachers as my father had been and I knew it; so I took no great interest in study. I remember liking to read Horace and I enjoyed calculating the great eclipse of 1806 and making a projection of it, which turned out nearly right. This, however, with a tolerably good knowledge of the higher algebra, was all I ever acquired in mathematics, and it was soon forgotten. I was idle in college, but I had a happy life and ran into no wildness or excesses.

Ticknor was a somewhat over-severe, not to say supercilious, critic, but comments of a similar character were made by others. John Ball, 1820, of a somewhat later date but subject to the same conditions, complained that if the student ventured to doubt the book, such action was treated as "unreasonable presumption." He lamented that "there was so little instruction in his course" and commented on the paucity of lectures. In his opinion most of the branches studied were "dry and uninteresting" and both books and professors "rather partisan" in their attitude. He also cast some light on class management by commenting unfavorably on the invariable habit of the professors of calling on men to recite in alphabetical order. We are in a position to form a fairly definite judgment of the work in English composition, for many of the addresses prepared by seniors for Commencement have been preserved. Even for such productions they strike us as almost incredibly banal and commonplace in idea and as incredibly verbose and flowery in language. Literary tastes change with time, but it is not entirely that change of taste which would make such efforts, if presented to the instructor of freshmen today, an occasion of extreme disgust to that person whose capacity for disgust is so often tested. In truth, the boys, in most cases, had nothing to say, a situation which is by no means unknown to the modern undergraduate; but they were more successful in concealing that fact behind a barrage of flowery phrases than are their successors. In none of these respects, however, was Dartmouth essentially different from most other colleges in the country. The same educational philosophy prevailed in all, the

same methods were followed, the same criticisms were made by the more forward-looking or more disgruntled of the undergraduates, the same acceptance of the status quo was prevalent among the great majority of them. Under any educational system, however, individuals may exist with such outstanding characteristics that they make their influence potent, no matter what may be the handicaps under which they work. We find no such man among the earlier teachers at Dartmouth. The professors were men intellectually competent for the work which they were called upon to do, some of them were liked and esteemed by the student body, but none of them (except Nathan Smith, who had no part in regular undergraduate instruction) seems to have possessed such qualities as to make him a permanent factor in molding the character of those who came under his influence.

Humdrum as the daily life of the student may appear to have been, there were occasional high spots to relieve its drabness. The "exhibitions" of the upper classes are to be numbered in this category. The student in those days was keenly interested in his scholastic rank, and the only way in which he could find out how his instructors were estimating him was by their action in assigning "parts" in these exercises, the first of which was held in sophomore year. The announcement of awards was awaited with tense expectation, and the results received with smug self-congratulation on the part of those who were successful, but usually with bitter denunciation of the appointing authority by those who were not. The recriminations of the latter group were a frequent cause of riotous disorder, usually directed at the unfortunate sophomore tutor who was supposed to be responsible for the injustice. But the culminating festivity of the year was Commencement, held at this period in the latter part of August. From the earliest days of the college it was a public holiday, attended by the inhabitants of all the communities roundabout, as they would attend a county fair or a military muster. Booths and side-shows lined the green, opportunities were at hand for refreshment of both solid and liquid varieties and a general holiday atmosphere prevailed. Dignified trustees assembled for their annual meeting and people of consideration and importance in the state were honored guests. The seniors prepared themselves.

intellectually and sartorially, for the important event. Judah Dana, 1795, records that his commencement dress consisted of a "black coat, waist coat and small clothes, large silver shoe buckles, black silk gloves and a black cocked hat, with my hair cued down with a black ribbon and my head and hair powdered as white as the driven snow." Probably the poorer students had difficulty in keeping up with this pace, but they did their best. The program of the three days' festivity shows how nobly our ancestors stood up under the infliction of oratory. The Commencement of the class of 1801 (Daniel Webster's class) may be taken as an example. The main exercises were held on Wednesday. Preliminary to them, however, we find the following:

Monday

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|-------|------|---|-------------------|
| 11.00 | A.M. | Oration to the Musical Society,
"Harmony of Sounds," | James H. Bingham |
| 4.00 | P.M. | Oration, Social Friends
"Fire," | Thomas A. Merrill |

Tuesday

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|-------|------|---|-----------------------|
| 9.30 | A.M. | Oration, Literary Adelphi
"He Shall be Called Wonderful" | Rev. Elijah Parish |
| 12.00 | M. | Oration, Phi Beta Kappa
"Take Fast Hold of Instruction," | Rev. Eliphalet Gillet |
| 3.00 | P.M. | Oration, United Brethren
"The Influence of Opinion," | Daniel Webster |

Some obstinate persons attended all of these exercises and then, with many others, appeared at the village church for the Commencement on Wednesday morning, to listen to the following program:

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|---|------------------------------|
| Latin Oration, "The Prosperity of America,"
with salutatory address, | Thomas A. Merrill |
| Forensic Dispute, "Is the Earth an Oblate Spheroid," | |
| | Abner Howe and Daniel Parker |
| Philosophical Oration, "The Intellectual System," | Simeon Lyman |

Dialogue, "Algerine Piracy," David Jewett and Asahel Stone
Hebrew Oration, "The Fear of the Lord," Nathaniel Shattuck
English Oration, with Valedictory,
 "Education," Caleb J. Tenney

This program was briefer than was usually the case, owing to the refusal of the United Fraternity, mentioned below, to take any part in it. Occasionally the festivities were marred by untoward happenings. At times these interruptions of the regular order were more amusing than serious. Thus John Wheelock, a dignified presiding officer, was accustomed to announce the various events in Latin. On one occasion, when music was called for, he made the usual statement, "*Musica expectatur.*" Nothing happening, he twice repeated the announcement in tones of increasing loudness. Still no response rewarded his efforts. In high exasperation at the break in the smoothness of the ceremonies, he momentarily forgot his dignity and bawled at the top of his voice to the non-classical musicians, "Play up," a command which at least had the merit of achieving its end. At other times the matter was more serious. The awarding of parts was considered by the students to be a matter of even higher importance than was the case in the various "exhibitions." As a result, extreme dissatisfaction frequently was felt at the appointments as made. Sometimes it meant merely the refusal of a whole group of students to take the parts assigned them, as in the case of Daniel Webster and his "brethren" of the United Fraternity, who considered that they, as a body, had been misused in the Commencement awards, particularly, in that assigned to the future expounder of the constitution, and who accordingly took no part at all. At other times even more serious consequences ensued. That was the case with Jotham Fairfield of the class of 1811. His classmate, Amos Kendall, thus records the incident:

He, for some reason, resolved to disgrace the Commencement by disgracing himself. He appeared on the stage with his stockings about his heels, and his whole dress in a most slovenly condition. He took no notice of the President or Trustees and spoke so low as hardly to be heard ten feet from the stage. His oration was on the

"Liberty of the Press" and was made up of extracts from Junius, awkwardly put together. Once he pulled a paper from his pocket and for some time read from it in a most monotonous tone.

The trustees were highly incensed at this insult to their dignity. Fairfield had already received his degree, which, of course, could not be taken from him, but the morning after Commencement the board solemnly voted that his name should never be inserted in any catalogue of the graduates of the institution. It never has been, except in a roll of non-graduates which now accompanies the regular list. But, in general, incidents like these did not occur, and the exercises went forward as smoothly as could be wished.

Exhausted by oratory, the graduating class, alumni and distinguished guests made their way to the Commencement dinner. The nature of the refreshments which were required may be deduced from the bill presented by the caterer for one of these festivities, that of 1797.

291½	mugs of punch @ 2/6	£ 3. 3.9
6	bottles brandy @ 4/6	1. 7.0
55	bottles brandy, wine & spirits @ 4/6	12. 7.6
90	dinners @ 35.	13.10.0
		<hr/> £30.18.3

The program terminated in the evening, rather surprisingly for the Puritan college, with what is described as a "splendid ball."

The facilities for comfortable living in the early college appeal to us as having been of a very meagre order, although, in considering such matters, we must be careful to place them in proper relation to the background of those times, rather than of our own. Of most pressing importance in Hanover is some effective way of keeping warm. As a bulwark against the long New Hampshire winters, plenty of wood was available, burned in the early years in fireplaces and afterwards in stoves. It was not always easy to obtain the dry article and many a student bemoaned the difficulty of maintaining a comfortable temperature with no other fuel than green pine. The task of preparing the logs for use, with axe and bucksaw, was not one to loom very large with the sturdy youth of that period, but he had to do it himself unless he took refuge in surreptitious raids upon

the supplies of long-suffering townspeople or professors. With the multiplicity of heating devices and the carelessness with which they were managed, the danger of fire was always present, and very little protection against it was available. Sporadic agitation for the purchase of a fire engine by college and village cropped up occasionally, but nothing effective was done about it during these times. Every student, however, was required to supply himself with a pail of water by 9 P.M., to be at hand if fire should break out during the night. The water supply itself was entirely from wells, the most important of which was located in what is now the sidewalk in front of Reed Hall. In 1792 Jonathan Freeman was instructed to "procure" a well with pump on the "back side of the college" for the use of the students, a "public convenience" still remembered by many alumni who do not consider themselves old. At the same time it was decreed that a "fountain" should be erected in the "President's pasture back of the college" for a supply of water in case of fire. That device was probably fed by wells (some of which still exist) in what is now the College Park. It was not until 1820 that an aqueduct system of running water was installed. That, however, was never utilized for the benefit of students, and it remained for the last decade of the nineteenth century to make any appreciable change in the primitive sanitary arrangements which had prevailed for more than a hundred years. Usually plenty of water was available for drinking purposes (such as it was), but the difficulties in the way of bathing must have led to conditions which may, perhaps, be left to the imagination of the reader, who, if he is tempted to speculate on the subject, should also recall the fact that sewage systems were unknown and that many of the students boarded themselves, with the consequences usually resulting from such efforts on the part of the masculine portion of humanity. As a consequence of their ways of living, sickness was not uncommon among the undergraduates nor were violent epidemics unknown. It is true that in the early days the college seems to have been remarkably healthy. Few deaths occurred among the undergraduates from Eleazar Wheelock's advent in 1770 to 1788. Within three years of the latter date, however, no less than five students died, and from this time on death was a constant factor. In 1797 occurred a violent epidemic of

dysentery, affecting, according to President Dwight, 220 of the 520 persons of the college community. William Dewey says the number of deaths was twenty-four and that on two different occasions within three weeks three dead bodies were carried into the meeting house for funeral services at the same time. A portion of the victims were undergraduates. A similar epidemic of even larger proportions devastated the eastern part of the town in 1800, causing a loss of life which Dewey estimates at one hundred. Reference also occurs to an epidemic of "typhus" (probably typhoid), in the handling of which the medical skill of Dr. Nathan Smith was highly commended. Tuberculosis was rife, taking its victims in no spectacular fashion, as did the epidemics, but with monotonous regularity. Just how much was done by the student to keep himself in proper condition by physical exercise is uncertain. No reference to the unorganized sort of football, later so common, is found before 1823, but it probably appeared at an earlier date. We do find, however, in a few instances accounts of long walks as a normal recreation and even excursions to Ascutney and to the White Mountains, in some of which fool-hardy students, taking absurd risks, seem to have been preserved from a tragic fate only by the exertions of their sorely tried guardian angels.

From a social point of view, the student of John Wheelock's time saw to it that he should not be without proper distraction. It is true that then, as now, feminine society in Hanover was far from adequate. The undergraduate of those days was as interested in girls as is his modern successor, although the language used by him in referring to social ambitions of this type was curiously different from that now in vogue. The few attractive girls of the village, such as the daughters of Professors Ripley and Woodward, were much regarded, although respectfully and usually at a distance, and were picked off by fortunate youths as soon as might well be. But not enough of them were available to make much impression and the students, in general, were compelled to restrict their opportunities for feminine society to periods when they were away from Hanover. Masculine companionship, however, was abundant and well organized. Most important of the groups formed at this time were the two Literary Societies, the Social Friends, founded in 1783, and

the United Fraternity, dating from 1786. The constitution of these organizations contained the usual sounding pledges of brotherhood which were taken with a high degree of seriousness by the members. Undergraduates were admitted at the end of freshman year, a process which was formalized, after the organizations were well under way, so that bids were extended at a definite hour and day, a process technically called "fishing," which seems to have some resemblance to tap day at Yale. Most of the students were invited to join one or both of the Societies, but a hot competition was carried on for the early equivalent of the "big man on the campus," who seems, curiously enough, to have been the outstanding student. From the start, elaborate agreements were solemnly drawn up to control this process and they were as unblushingly violated and disregarded in those days as they have always been. Competition was the life of the Societies and when, in 1814, the "executive authority" of the college, deeming the contention harmful to the institution, arbitrarily decreed that the entering class should be arranged alphabetically and the men should be assigned in alternation to the two Societies, to admit or reject as they liked, each of the organizations protested vehemently against such a plan. They recognized that their strength depended upon rivalry and the principal tie which bound the members together was the desire to get the better of the other group. The students succeeded in having the decree so modified as to permit a man assigned to a Society not of his choice to be admitted to the other after the lapse of one year. Even this concession was withdrawn in 1825, because it was found to invalidate the purpose at which the authorities were aiming, and because of that action and for other reasons the Societies decreased in influence from that time. The activities of these fraternities may be divided into three classes. In the first place they held each week exercises of a literary character with debates and "orations." At first, each had its hall, but afterwards a room in the college building was assigned to the two, to be used jointly. The exercises apparently had some value, although the records show that in a lamentable number of cases the "orator" was unprepared or absent and that the session adjourned at once after meeting for lack of literary pabulum. Each of the organizations was also responsible for a public

oration at commencement, delivered by one of the graduating class, and it sometimes staged a dramatic effort in the form of a dialogue or even a tragedy, written and acted by members. In the second place, the rivalry of the organizations afforded opportunity for youthful enthusiasm to vent itself in endless bickering and dissension with the rival group. In their prime, the members of these organizations took their social affiliations with high seriousness; they were, in duty bound, eulogistic of their own worth and correspondingly contemptuous of the qualities of their rivals. Thus Daniel Webster, a member of the United Fraternity, in 1802, a year after his graduation, wrote concerning a classmate "I think him a worthy fellow, and almost the only Social Friend who possesses any liberality of mind, though those pious folks would be very angry with me at saying so." Finally, each of the Societies maintained a library, a feature of which they were justly proud and for the increase and maintenance of which they willingly taxed themselves sums which were astonishingly large, considering the financial status of the members. For a time the two collections were managed in common as a "federated library," but in 1799 this arrangement was abandoned on account of dissensions between the two organizations. Within a year of the separation each library was as large as the combined one previously had been, and by the end of the period each amounted to over 2000 volumes, most of them works of real interest. The nature of the college collection was such that most of the students and instructing staff relied, perforce, almost exclusively on the Society libraries. The organizations thus did a real service to the college and one which continued long after any other reason for their existence had passed away.

In 1787 a charter for a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa was awarded by the Harvard and Yale branches of that organization (the original chapter at William and Mary having suspended operations at that period) to Aaron Kinsman and a group of students in the senior class of that year. It was thus the fourth chapter of the fraternity to be chartered, and the last for twenty years. In its early days it was a society to which about one-third of the coming junior class was admitted at the end of their sophomore year, and, in essence, served as a mark of distinction to the student who was fortunate enough to

be elected, very much as the senior societies do today, although the qualifications considered desirable in a candidate were not quite those which now prevail. At times the elections were the cause of much bitterness and even tended to disrupt the older organizations. Several times violent dissension occurred in these bodies as a result, partly of the Phi Beta Kappa elections, partly from a feeling that all Societies were undemocratic, and on some occasions a majority of the undergraduate members was on the point of voting that the organization should be disbanded, a situation saved only by the hurried summoning to the meetings of graduate members residing in the vicinity. Sometimes the proceedings were riotous, so much so that on two occasions the Social Friends lost their constitution and record books as a result of the disorder.

Various debating societies were instituted during the period, although all of them were ephemeral. To this order belong the Literary Adelphi and Phi Sigma. More permanent was the Musical Society, which afterwards acquired real renown under the name of the Handel Society. Music was much appreciated in Hanover at that period, and the measure of technical excellence attained was high. President Dwight of Yale, who visited the village in 1803, commented as follows:

I attended divine service in the church at this place, and never, unless in a few instances at Wethersfield many years since, heard sacred music which exhibited so much taste and skill as were displayed here.

A Theological Society was also in existence, composed, it may be inferred, of those of ministerial inclinations. Practically every interest was thus looked after and the pious student, musically inclined, who was scholastically able and popular, might find himself engaged for a meeting of the Theological Society on Monday evening, United Fraternity or Social Friends (he could not belong to both) on either Tuesday or Wednesday, Phi Beta Kappa on Thursday, the Handel Society on Friday, with a further reservation, perhaps, for a debating society at a time which is uncertain. It is doubtful whether anyone followed so exacting a schedule, but the opportunity was nevertheless before him.

The conduct of the student was carefully looked after and he was left in no doubt as to the particular crimes which he was not to commit. The first definite code of laws was drawn up in 1782 and was followed by revisions at various periods, as well as by amendments and additions from time to time as the occasion arose. The requirement of a tremendous external show of respect to the president has already been mentioned, and it was extended, although on a diminishing scale, to professors, tutors, and even undergraduates of classes superior to that to which the student belonged. Reference has also been made to rules for proper conduct on the Sabbath. Offenses of a serious character were evidently anticipated and punishment for them provided. Thus the student was warned that if he were guilty of "treason, forgery, blasphemy, perjury, open and gross lewdness or other violations of the law of the land" he would be expelled. "Drunkenness, riotous or tumultuous meetings, indecent clamor, disorderly night walking or combinations to the injury of the society or the individual" did not meet with so summary a punishment, but the student got himself into serious trouble if he indulged in them. Lesser crimes were not disregarded. The undergraduate was not allowed to keep or play with dice or cards, nor to indulge in any other form of gambling. He could not enter a tavern, except by special permission. He must not "associate with people of immoral character." He must not keep or use "more spirituous liquors *than is necessary*." He must not board at any place disapproved by the president, nor keep firearms in his room. He must not remain in Hanover during vacations, unless he resided there. Inasmuch as "holding public entertainments by students of this college is detrimental to their morals" the trustees voted in 1798 "that such entertainments are prohibited under penalty of \$5 fine to any one who participates," and in 1799 the board ruled that any student who became a freemason thereby terminated his connection with the college. No student was allowed to take a female part in any dramatic entertainment, nor should "any representation of spirituous liquors be allowed on any public occasion." Nor must the undergraduate "refuse to give evidence respecting any matter within his knowledge" if asked by a college officer to do so. An imposing series of punishments, ranging from fines for venial offenses through the

degrees of private admonition, public admonition, probation, suspension, rustication (suspension for a year) and expulsion, was provided to take care of the offenses which the student might commit.

As might have been expected, the undergraduate body rose to the occasion and gave the "executive authority" abundant practice in the administration of discipline. Sporadic violations of the law were frequent and concerted ones not unknown. In the early days a favorite diversion was the destruction of outworn college edifices, a process publicly frowned on by the authorities, but regarded by them in private with considerable complacency as meeting a problem not otherwise easy of solution. The freshmen objected to the obligatory performance of errands for upperclassmen. The class of 1795 solved the matter by doing such errands as a group, in procession, with flying flags and musical accompaniment. This action was looked upon by the authorities as a rebellious violation of the college rules enjoining such service. It was finally settled, however, that if the class would not do such service, they could not expect to exact it when they had attained sophomore standing and, upon their acquiescence in this reasoning, the requirement disappeared from the list of college rules. The custom of pasturing cows by night on the green was a continual source of irritation between undergraduates and townspeople. The animals had the habit of disappearing, sometimes driven three or four miles to the north and then across the river, where they were found only after a long search by their exasperated owners; sometimes collected in the cellar of Dartmouth Hall, the barricaded entrances of which the townsmen attempted in vain to storm—much to the embarrassment of the president and professors, whose duty it was to quell the disturbance. A cannon also was a source of contention between the college youths, who, in all probability, had stolen it originally, and the alleged owners in Windsor and Norwich. Raids of one party upon the other, temporarily in possession of the piece of ordnance, were occasions of pleasant excitement and its presence in Hanover was considered by the undergraduates as highly fortunate when, being locked out of the "College" for some reason by Professor Shurtleff, they forced an entrance by placing the muzzle against the door and blowing their way in, much to the terror of those residing

on the top floor of the rocking building. The theft of poultry was already a "college tradition," and the cooking of the purloined fowls in the fireplaces or stoves of the stuffy rooms, with a subsequent feast, was the occasion of mingled grease and good cheer, the latter sometimes dispelled by the advent of a tutor. More serious were drunken parties, the raw material for which was obtainable in the village in abundance. If the affair was quietly conducted, the possibility existed that it might remain undetected, but if it rose to the point of hilarity and riot, usually the whole "executive authority" would hasten to the spot, headed by President Wheelock, whose muscular frame was well adapted to the duty of kicking in the doors of these locked dens of iniquity. Sometimes the inmates were too far gone to recognize those who had thus burst in upon them. On one such occasion Professor Smith, aghast at the lack of reverence shown to "authority," said, sternly, "Silence, young man, don't you see this is President Wheelock?" Whereupon the inebriated one replied, "Ah! President Wheelock. I am happy to meet so distinguished a character, as I am no less distinguished, nor do I acknowledge any superiority." "Yes, Sir," said the president, calmly, "Bacchus was ever wont to reckon himself as the noblest of the gods." In truth, our admiration goes out to these professors who were so successful in maintaining an extreme dignity of manner in face of the duty of acting as police officers and detectives to ferret out the crimes of nimble youth.

The habit of "treating" upon the award of "parts" at the various exhibitions was another occasion for disturbance. The successful contestants treated the rest of the class, and the class the rest of the college, with results that were far from edifying. In their sophomore year certain members of the class of 1811 determined to discontinue the practice, and six of the eight who received parts signed pledges to that effect. The abandonment of such an "old tradition" was not welcomed by the rest of the college. The band refused to play at the festivities, the Handel Society refused to sing, the students, for the most part, refused to attend. A booth was erected close to the chapel and most of the college assembled there, drowning out the official orators within by the clamor of an impromptu "exhibition" of their own. The authorities of the college then took a hand in the matter

and forbade treating, a measure which, by dint of forcible disciplinary action repeatedly administered, finally prevailed. Another source of confusion was the activity of students in the medical school. Confronted by the necessity of obtaining subjects for dissection and of the total lack of any legal method for doing so, they took the easiest way and secured the specimens wherever it was most convenient to get them. Sometimes they were detected and great public indignation was aroused by their action. A number of men subsequently distinguished in the medical profession of the state and respected by all, combined in their youthful days a medical education with a smattering of law by the difficulties into which their "digging up" activities had plunged them. Even the popularity and prestige of Dr. Nathan Smith were hardly equal to the strain imposed upon them when "subjects" for which search had been made were found hidden beneath the floor of the medical lecture room.

At times, those in charge of the college became almost discouraged. Thus Professor Shurtleff wrote in 1804:

My whole attention is called to the tumults in the college. Although they are now subsiding yet you know, sir, the mind is reluctant to quit that which tortures it most. Such a time was not since the beginning and 'tis truly hopeful never shall be again.

In 1811 a serious-minded senior, Moses Pillsbury, uttered the following lament:

The tumultuous whirlpools of dissipation are now surging over the plain and far too many are already immersed in its destructive commotions. The more sober and respectable part of the Inhabitants say the Students were never so dissipated as at present. This opinion, however, I think might much more properly be applied to the medical students than to members of the College.

Much perturbation was also felt by the religious section of the community concerning the state of unbelief or indifference manifested by the students. Despite the prevailing Christian influence of the institution, and despite the compulsion exercised as to attendance upon numerous religious exercises, it is recorded that of the class of

1799 but one member was a professed Christian. Professor Shurtleff said in 1804 that while he "believes there is faith among the students the great body of them were perhaps never colder since my acquaintance," an opinion which has a strangely modern sound. A revival occurred in 1782, but no further movement of this kind is mentioned until 1815. Such manifestations seem especially apt to occur in times of stress and difficulty.

It would be misleading, however, to think that outbursts of disorder were normal and continuous characteristics of the college life of the period. In general, the student body devoted itself to its assigned tasks without much thought of riot and rebellion. George Ticknor records of his time that he ran into "no wildness or excesses. Indeed in that village there was small opportunity for such things, and those with whom I lived, both in the college and the society of the place, were excellent people." Even the "low state of religion" was not permanent in its effect, for about a quarter of the graduates of the time entered the ministry, a proportion smaller, however, than was the case in the decades preceding and following this period. Moreover, the college authorities were very successful in dealing with such outbreaks as did occur. John Wheelock knew how to handle the rough youths under his charge and, while punishments were numerous and the popularity of the president was not great, the disciplinary action taken was effective in accomplishing the desired ends. In fact, the impression of college life upon the student of the time was probably that of a monotonous level of routine. The humdrum was relieved occasionally by exciting incidents from without. Thus in 1790 a "horrible fire broke out which threatened the whole plain with conflagration." Starting in the wood north of the village and fanned by a violent gale from the northwest, it seemed impossible to save the community. To quote Ephraim Smedley, 1793, "All the students of the College turned out to quell its raging, some watered the houses and poured water on the roofs, while others endeavored to quench it; with much ado stopt the rage but were obliged to watch it the succeeding night." In the following year the college was called out again, this time to search for a student who had disappeared, quite in the modern fashion. After two days spent in combing the woods and inspecting

the river, the missing youth calmly strolled back to town, much surprised at the agitation caused by his absence, with the explanation that he had been on an errand across the river about which it had not occurred to him to inform anyone. In 1786 there is record of a "severe earthquake which all but ruined the wells of water" so that they had to be sunk six or eight feet deeper to bring the flow again. Some windows were broken and a few chimneys shaken down. In 1787 a tremendous tornado filled the road to the north with fallen trees, sixty of them being counted to a mile, but this storm did not equal that of June, 1802, in which several buildings were blown down, the south end of Dartmouth Hall unroofed, and, if William Dewey's account is veracious, the door of his barn blown so far away that it never was found again. In 1798 the new college building caught fire. The situation seemed very critical and everyone was agog with excitement, John Smith clamoring that the library must be saved, while the president was most concerned about the "great bird." Fortunately, efforts to save the structure were successful, and the damage was confined to three rooms, an outcome particularly desirable in view of the fact that at the time no insurance was carried.

The student body of the period came, for the most part, from the farms of New England and brought with them no background of culture and refinement. The college could hardly be expected to succeed in imparting to these boys, in four years, all the ease and polish of the finished gentleman. As a result, the Dartmouth alumnus was considered in some quarters to be a rough-and-ready fellow, with little skill in the arts of polite society and with small claims to refinement, but with a high degree of self-assurance. John Quincy Adams, at that time a student of law in Newburyport, but a caustic critic even at that early age, wrote in his diary in 1787 that he had met

... a son of Dartmouth by the name of Parish who was likewise of the company. Mr. Parish has to perfection the effervescence and manners which have distinguished all the young gentlemen from that seminary with whom I have had any acquaintance. That a man should not at the same time make a scholar and a fine gentlemen,

that the graces and the muses should not reside in the same mansion, is what I have never thought strange: that they seldom unite is at once my sorrow and my consolation but the students at Dartmouth appear determined to raise no rivalry between these sets of sisters and therefore discard them all.

And on another occasion, referring to a preacher whom he had heard, he asserted:

The man that appeared in the pulpit I concluded very soon was a son of Dartmouth. All was commonplace, his ideas were trifling, his language was inelegant, and his manner was an unsuccessful attempt to the florid. . . . In short he appeared to me to have all the defects, without one of the excellencies of a youthful irregular imagination.

Some basis of fact may have lurked behind the rather sour criticism of the young Adams, but, in his distinguished career of service to the state, he was to encounter sons of the college who were to ask no odds from him in the arena of public affairs. Eighty-nine men were graduated from Dartmouth under the elder Wheelock, while 1088 received degrees from the hands of his son. Practically nine out of every ten of them entered one of the four professions, law, medicine, theology or teaching. During this period the law was in the ascendancy, rising so high in the decade from 1801-10 as to attract almost one-half of the entire number of graduates. Then, even more directly than now, that profession led to the public service. As a result, we find that a larger proportion of Dartmouth alumni achieved distinction in politics during this period than has been the case in any subsequent time. Three were members of the president's cabinet, eight were members of the Senate and thirty-seven were members of the national House of Representatives. Ten were governors of states. The number who held less important positions, administrative or legislative, in state governments cannot be ascertained, but it must have been very large. More strictly related to legal eminence is the fact that one alumnus of this period was a justice of the United States Supreme Court, fifteen were judges of state courts of the highest jurisdiction, and sixty-nine presided over lower courts. The ministry does not lend itself to easy classification,

but forty-three graduates of the period received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and one was bishop of the Episcopal church. Education was represented by twelve college presidents and twenty-eight professors, but the most important service of graduates to this profession was probably in the secondary schools, a field in which statistics are not readily available. Nor is it possible adequately to classify distinction attained by the members of the medical profession. Six reached the position of General in the army of the United States and thirty-four were awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Of the Dartmouth men to make their mark in the world the primacy during those years, a primacy that bids fair to extend to all the years to come, must be assigned to Daniel Webster. His relation to the college is without a counterpart in the history of American education. Not alone was he a man whose impress upon our national life is surpassed by that of hardly any other; one whom any institution must pride itself upon having nurtured; but in times of stress his incomparable powers of mind and speech were brought to the service of his college to save it from what seemed an impending doom. Justly, then, the names of Webster and Dartmouth are terms always to be associated, and justly is Webster placed with Eleazar Wheelock as a co-founder of the college.

No thought of the historic importance of the occasion entered the minds of those who witnessed the advent of a swarthy boy of fifteen, who entered Hanover on a day late in August, 1797, attired, as is the custom of freshmen, in a new and uncomfortable suit, carefully provided by the solicitude of his mother. Tradition has it that the homespun cloth, dyed in the maternal dye-tub, had encountered difficulties on the way in the form of a heavy rain, and that the color had transferred itself to the wearer, giving him a curiously mottled appearance as he rode to the door of Ripley's old house at the north end of the green, then serving as a village tavern. He was in need of no external aid to darken his features. So tawny was his visage by nature that on his advent in the village church the on-lookers formed the idea that John Wheelock, after a lapse of more than ten years, had at last succeeded in bringing an Indian back to the college. Black Dan he was called throughout his course. He passed the entrance test, but with no margin to spare. His year of

preparation was barely sufficient, and it may be inferred that the strong recommendation of his tutor, the Reverend Samuel Wood, whose influence with the college authorities was high, had more to do with the decision than Webster's own acquirements. His rooming places in Hanover have always been a subject of controversy and owners of the few remaining structures in the village which stood in his time are not averse to the claim that their houses sheltered the embryo orator. The treasurer's accounts of his time, however, show a charge to him for "chamber rental" for the first three years of his course, evidence which, upon its face, would indicate that he roomed during that period in a college building. In fact, evidence which has come to light in the course of this investigation shows with certainty that in his sophomore year he occupied room No. 6 (north end of the first floor) of Dartmouth Hall, although the same evidence puzzles us by indicating that in his junior year he did not room in that structure at all. In his senior year he roomed outside the college, and the evidence presented by Professor Herbert D. Foster that he lived in the home of Mrs. Ripley (now called the Webster Cottage), while not placing the matter entirely beyond doubt, seems reasonably convincing. He soon acquired an assured position among his fellows. While somewhat reserved and forming close friendships with but few, his genuine talents were eventually recognized and no movement of importance was initiated without his co-operation, although something of an air of superiority about him prevented a high degree of popularity. His closest friendship in college was with his classmate, James Bingham. The subsequent careers of the two men show the irony of fate. In college they regarded themselves as on an equality, both of them entered the profession of law, but in the years to come, when Webster was a figure known throughout the land, Senator and Secretary of State, Bingham, in poverty, was glad to obtain through the influence of his friend a humble clerkship at Washington. Webster became a member of the United Fraternity and held in turn all the important offices in that organization. He was also a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and some of the records of that society, written in his hand, are still preserved. Scholastically, his preparation told against him for the first two years. He never obtained any mastery of Greek, nor

was he at all interested in mathematics, but he did acquire a respectable acquaintance with the Latin classics, so that his orations of a later day are sprinkled with sonorous passages from the Roman authors, an indispensable adjunct to the equipment of the orator of that period. He does not seem to have been considered by the instructing force for appointment to one of the parts of the sophomore exhibition. But, in the latter part of the course, studies of English literature and history and particularly of politics and government, supplemented by extensive reading quite outside the work of the classroom, started him on the road which he was henceforth to follow. As time went on, he acquired the reputation among the student body of being their most brilliant member, and some of his instructors, particularly Professor Woodward, recognized his genius. He was not, however, an accurate scholar; he was impatient of meticulous memorization of details and eager to grasp large general principles. As a result, he was exceeded in technical scholarship by his classmate Merrill, who subsequently passed fifty placid years as a minister in Middlebury, Vermont. It was generally thought, however, that Webster deserved second place (then the valedictory appointment) in the Commencement honors. The "executive authority," however, preferred Caleb Tenney for the position, assigning to Webster a subordinate part, and the latter, with rather childish petulance, influenced, moreover, by fraternity jealousies, asked, as did all the members of his Society of that year, to be excused from speaking at all. It was in the realms of literary production that Webster was most active. Poems showing no very high order of inspiration, moral essays, political discussion in which he took the orthodox Federalist attitude, regarding with horror the rise of the "atheistical" Jefferson, poured from his pen. He found an outlet for them in the columns of the local paper, *The Dartmouth Gazette*, which published over the signature of "Icarus" numerous productions from him in prose and verse on such subjects as "Hope," "Fear," "Charity," "Winter," "Seat of the Muses," "How Shall the Federalists Conduct Themselves if Jefferson is Elected?" "Question by a Jacobin," with high originality a poem on "Spring," and the like. He even served as a sort of sub-editor of the paper during his junior year, and made enough out of the job to pay his

board. But his greatest reputation in college was as an orator. He was recognized by everyone as the best speaker among the undergraduates for many college generations. In addition to the requirements of the curriculum, he took continual advantage of the opportunities for speaking presented by meetings of his Society and of Phi Beta Kappa. In 1800 he delivered a Fourth of July oration to the college and the citizens of Hanover. Of it the *Gazette* said:

This Oration, though composed on very short notice, would have done honor to gray-headed patriotism and crowned with new laurels the most celebrated orators of our country.

There is no evidence that Webster used his editorial position to write this estimate of the speech himself, but the partiality of his good friend, Moses Davis, the proprietor of the paper, who probably did write it, may have affected the coolness of his judgment. The production was printed and sold in pamphlet form for 12½ cents. In 1801 he delivered a funeral eulogy on his classmate, Ephraim Simonds, which was also printed. At his graduation in 1801, he was intrusted with the public oration of his Society and chose as his subject, "The Influence of Opinion." These productions are characterized by copiousness of vocabulary, overabundance of ornament, and lack of originality in their basic ideas. There is little about them which reminds one of the efforts of Webster's mature years. It must be remembered that they were the work of a boy of eighteen or nineteen, that florid language was characteristic of the times, and particularly rampant at Dartmouth through the tendency to look upon the terrible productions of President Wheelock as models to follow. Moreover, they are much superior to other undergraduate efforts of the time and they do forecast, to some extent, the political philosophy which was to govern Webster through life. But anyone who finds in them distinct promise of the majesty of language and the high emotion of the Reply to Hayne or the Plymouth Address can do so only by projecting his knowledge of the future into his judgment of the past. Webster, himself, was a better critic when he said of his early efforts:

I trust they are forgotten; they were in very bad taste. I had not then learned that all true power in writing is in the idea, not the

style, an idea into which the Ars Rhetorica, as it is usually taught, may easily lead stronger heads than mine.

Other graduates of that early period deserve at least brief mention. Jesse Appleton, 1792, became the second president of Bowdoin, succeeding Joseph McKeen, 1774, a product of the college under the elder Wheelock. Zephaniah Swift Moore, 1793, was president of Williams and afterwards the first president of Amherst. Philander Chase, 1796, carried the standard of Episcopacy across the Alleghanies, was successively Bishop of Ohio and of Illinois and founder of Kenyon and of Jubilee Colleges. Sylvanus Thayer, 1807, was the real father of West Point and established the Thayer School of Civil Engineering. In the same class was George Ticknor, first Professor of Modern Languages at Harvard, an educator of original ideas, the historian of Spanish literature and a potent influence in the social and intellectual life of Boston at a time when that region was pre-eminent as a literary center. In 1809 was graduated Levi Woodbury, at twenty-five judge of the highest court of the state, later Governor of New Hampshire, twice member of the Senate of the United States, Secretary of the Navy from 1831 to 1834, and Secretary of the Treasury from 1834 to 1841, Justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1845 to his death in 1851. Not a man of remarkable mentality, his industry was untiring, and his political capacity such as to make his career one of outstanding success. Probably no Dartmouth graduate came so near to the presidency as did Woodbury. But for his death he would undoubtedly have been the choice of New Hampshire in the Democratic convention of 1852 and the same forces which brought about the nomination of Franklin Pierce would have worked with even greater effect for the older man. In the class of 1811 was Amos Kendall, newspaper editor, political manipulator of unusual shrewdness, a leading member of the "kitchen cabinet" of Andrew Jackson, and Postmaster General from 1835 to 1840. In the same class were Joel Parker, eminent judge and a pioneer in legal instruction through his long professorship at the Harvard Law School, Daniel Poor, an early missionary to India, and Ether Shepley, Senator and Chief Justice of Maine. Thaddeus Stevens, of the class of 1814, for a limited period occupied

a position of power such as few men have held in the history of the nation. Regarded by his admirers as a stalwart champion whose tireless efforts were devoted to retaining for the nation the fruits won on the fields of the civil war, he is considered by others almost as a malignant demon bent brutally on stamping out the last traces of life from a prostrate and helpless people. No one, however, denies his influence on the destinies of the nation. The final effort of his life, the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, wears something of a Dartmouth aspect, although most of the participants in it were men of a later date. Among them were Stevens himself, the motive force of the prosecution, Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, 1826, the presiding officer, striving valiantly to maintain the atmosphere of a judicial tribunal in a gathering inspired by the mob spirit of a lynching party, Senator James W. Patterson, 1848, of New Hampshire, following the behest of the party leaders, and Senator James W. Grimes, 1836, of Iowa, one of the small group who sacrificed political future and even private repute by refusing to surrender their convictions of right and wrong at the crack of the party whip.

Other men of lesser repute deserve passing mention. The first treatise on American literature was written by Samuel Lorenzo Knapp, 1804, an effort which has been continued by the works of Professor Charles F. Richardson, 1871, and Professor Fred L. Pattee, 1888. In fact, the graduates of the college seem to have been more successful in tracing the history of literature than in creating the literature itself. However, such as they are, authors are not lacking in this period. Thomas Green Fessenden, 1796, is termed by Professor Pattee the "American Butler" and is considered by him to have been the first American humorist. David Everett, 1795, was a really successful dramatist, whose first play, *Doranzel*, was a popular success at the Federal Street Theatre in Boston during the whole season of 1799-1800. He was also the author of such gems of poetic inspiration as the following:

*You'd scarce expect one of my age
To speak in public on the stage*

and

*Large streams from little fountains flow
Tall oaks from little acorns grow*

Of even greater significance, if the story is true, is a literary enterprise of Solomon Spalding, 1785. It is said that he wrote a romance called *The Manuscript Found*, which was placed in a printer's office for publication. It was finally decided to give up the idea of printing it, but someone in the office copied the manuscript and sold it to a person named Joseph Smith, at whose hands it afterwards became the *Book of Mormon*. It would certainly be a high distinction for a Dartmouth alumnus to be reckoned the author of a work considered by so many people to be a production directly inspired by God, but the author of this book assumes no responsibility for the accuracy of the story.



CHAPTER VII

Storm and Stress

THE violent conflict in which the administration of John Wheelock closed must be treated as a unit if much is to be made of the mass of intrigue, recrimination and denunciation of which it is composed. Some liberties will therefore be taken with the story of the college, so far as chronology is concerned, in order that the controversy may be described as a coherent whole. To do this it will be necessary both to retrace our steps over the years which have already been covered in part and to advance into a later period, concerning which as yet nothing has been said.

We may as well begin our story with the root of the matter. Despite all the ramifications of the contest, despite all attempts put forth on both sides to confuse the issue by attaching it to fundamental principles advanced by political party or religious sect, there was, in reality, throughout the whole controversy but one point which the contending parties deemed of importance, namely, whether the control of the college should rest with the Wheelock dynasty or with the trustees. While the matter became involved in partisan disputes as the quarrel progressed, so that for a time political campaigns centered around the controversy; while the theological champions of the time found in the claims of the two factions effective material with which their own dissensions might be embittered; and while, at last, constitutional issues of the highest importance rose from the questions involved; nevertheless these were

but extraneous issues, eagerly seized by one or other of the contending parties and of interest to them only as contributing to the solution of the one question which in their minds was really vital—should John Wheelock or the trustees rule?

That such a controversy was almost inevitable is obvious from a consideration of the origin and development of the institution. It was, in the beginning, a one-man affair, owing its effectiveness solely to the exertions of the elder Wheelock. Although legally the trustees were in complete control, they were considered by him and they considered themselves merely as appendages; of importance only in insuring perpetuity to the enterprise. That view of college organization was adopted by the second Wheelock and was tenaciously adhered to by him through his whole career. So long as the college was unimportant, the trustees were content to acquiesce in this view of their status; when it grew so that it was comparable with the best educational foundations of the land, the case assumed a different aspect. After all, by provisions of the charter, the board and not the president was the governing authority; the responsibility was in the hands of that body, and some of the trustees began to regard their duties more seriously, and their own importance with a higher respect, than they had before. Under these circumstances, it was obvious that friction was sure to occur unless it could be avoided by conciliatory conduct and a co-operative frame of mind on the part of all connected with the institution. But conciliation was the habit of neither of the parties involved. John Wheelock, successful as he was as an administrator, while he was without the broad vision of his father, did possess his inflexible firmness of mind which, in the case of the son, might better be described as a tenacious obstinacy. On the other hand, the trustees, in the latter part of the period, were men of high influence and prestige in their communities and were not accustomed to having their opinions disregarded. Under these circumstances a break could hardly have been averted.

Nevertheless, in the early part of the period, there was no lack of essential harmony. Some of the trustees were Wheelock's relatives and professors in the college, the remainder were his personal friends. The election of Judge Niles in 1793 (already discussed in Chapter V) was the first omen of the approaching storm. Conten-

tion was not slow in making its appearance. At a meeting of the board in February, 1796, the judge forced through that body the election of the Reverend Charles Backus of Somers, Connecticut, to the vacant Phillips Professorship of Theology. Just how this was done is not apparent. The president and the two professorial members, Woodward and Smith, as well as another member, the Reverend Israel Evans, protested that they knew nothing of Backus and, furthermore, that the income from the Phillips fund was not as yet nearly enough to support a professor. Their remonstrance was heated, but quite in vain; the matter had evidently been arranged in advance and the election was steam-rolled through with the efficiency shown by a modern party machine. It was a surprising outcome, for the members of the board, who thus broke loose, generally acted in harmony with the president. Apparently Niles' purpose was to make sure that this highly important professor should be a member of the Hopkinsian branch of Congregationalism, and others of the trustees were favorable to that idea. The president, however, had not exhausted his resources. Both he and Woodward sent letters, post-haste, to their colleague, David McClure, then a minister at Windsor, Connecticut, and not present at the trustee meeting in question, asking him to see Backus before Niles should bring news to the professor-elect of his appointment. Reading between the lines it was easy to deduce the nature of the reception which Backus would encounter in Hanover, and McClure evidently conveyed to him the inner meaning of the message, for Niles, upon his arrival, found that his candidate had no intention of venturing into the hornet's nest which seemed to be prepared for him. Much incensed, the judge returned to Hanover deeply indignant at the action of the president. From this time the two men regarded one another with unconcealed aversion.

Curiously enough, however, the difficulties which were to culminate in the explosion of 1815 began in a controversy with which the trustees had nothing to do. After previous failures to induce such men as the Reverend Archibald Alexander and the Reverend Samuel Worcester, who were successively elected to the theological professorship, to accept that office, in 1804 the trustees appointed

to the position Roswell Shurtleff, 1799, then a tutor, and secured his acceptance. The duties attached to the chair were to

... exhibit Theological Lectures to the students, to instruct the students in Logic and Moral Philosophy as often as directed by the Board of Trustees, to preach upon the Sabbath, and perform religious worship in the Chapel every other week when it is not convenient for the President to attend.

It was the general supposition that the new professor would serve as pastor of the College Church. John Smith had always considered his service in that capacity to be temporary and to terminate whenever the theological professorship should be filled. The members of the church had the same belief and were much pleased with the prospect of securing the services of Shurtleff, who was highly popular in the community. As a matter of fact, a notice from William Woodward, a strong supporter of President Wheelock and clerk of the board, to the new professor conveyed the same impression in a semi-official form. The church sent to Shurtleff a regular call to the pastorate, tacitly assuming that the services of Smith were at an end and they exerted themselves to obtain subscriptions toward his support. Into this scene of harmony the president now cast a bomb which was to reverberate much farther than he could have thought. Contrary to the opinion of everyone else, he asserted that Professor Smith's pastorate was by no means at an end and he proposed that arrangements should be made whereby the two men should serve as co-pastors of the church. At a meeting of that organization held on December 13, 1804, the matter was discussed with much acrimony. But the president had made effective preparations for obtaining his way. The church, as originally constituted, had included members from the surrounding country. Among them were the inhabitants of the hamlet of Dothan, three miles away in Hartford, Vermont. Later, these people had built a church of their own which they attended regularly and to which they had even proposed calling a pastor, but the president had persuaded them to rely on the college tutors, through whose services preaching could be obtained at a "cheap rate." The people in Dothan were thus still members of the "Church of Christ at Dartmouth College." They

were, moreover, utterly subservient to wishes of the president. All of them were instructed to appear at the meeting; they loyally responded and, with the president and Professor Smith, constituted a majority. A resolution in accordance with the presidential desires was therefore forced through, according to which Smith and Shurtleff were to be co-pastors of the church, the former usually to supply the Hartford branch, the latter the Hanover one.

The people in Hanover, who voted almost unanimously against this resolution, were thrown by its passage into a state of extreme indignation. Just what the nature of their objection to Professor Smith may have been is not quite clear, but it was probably due to his subservience to the president. Several years before, as a result of some dispute, at the behest of Wheelock, Smith had transferred the preaching services for more than two months from the church to the chapel, and had even held communion there, contrary to a church vote; a high-handed action against which the community, including Professor Bezaleel Woodward, had protested in vain. It is likewise possible that, having borne with the monumental dullness of John Smith for twenty years, they could endure it no more. Whatever may have been the reason, they were determined that they would not yield to the dictation of the president, that they would not be overridden by a people alien to themselves and that they would submit no longer to the ministrations of John Smith. The president's hidden motives, if, indeed, he had any which were not on the surface, are obscure. So far as can be determined, however we may endeavor to find more creditable reasons for his action, he seems to have been impelled by the single principle that his will in Hanover must prevail. Thus in a sordid squabble within an obscure church began a quarrel which was to end in the Supreme Court of the United States, with all the nation looking on.

The reader will be relieved to learn that it is not the author's intention to discuss *in extenso* the details of this ecclesiastical controversy. Its many ramifications would lead us far afield. The recriminations were of the character common to such struggles and the affair assumed the aspect of a family dispute, as James Wheelock, brother of the president, was an outstanding leader of the party opposing that potentate. Advice was sought from outside. The

presidential faction, however, did not at first consent to the arbitration of an ecclesiastical body, so that an *ex parte* council was summoned by the Hanover members alone. This gathering recommended that the organization should be divided, and that each branch should be set up as a separate church, a recommendation which the Hanover members were content to follow. Later, both parties consenting, a mutual council was summoned, which decided that the church should continue in name as one organization, but that each branch should act with entire independence of the other. This solution was also acceptable to the Hanover members and the matter, so far as they were concerned, was thus arranged, but the president's party, while professing to accept the decision, adroitly interpreted every important provision of it to mean just the opposite of what was really intended. The members of the council were much astonished at this perversion of their decision and united in an explanation of exactly what they had in mind. The Hanover branch, for a time, worked loyally under this arrangement, always notifying the Hartford group of the holding of communion services, which was the only occasion on which the two branches were supposed to unite. No co-operation being obtained from their brethren across the river nor from the president, the Hanover branch, supported by the Orange Congregational Association, became in 1810 an independent church under the name of the "Church in the Vicinity of Dartmouth College," while the Hartford branch retained the original organization and title, "The Church of Christ at Dartmouth College." Only in 1906, long after the Hartford branch had become extinct, did the Hanover church resume its original name. A further change was that of denominational affiliation. The Presbyterian form, under which the original church had been "gathered," was now almost obsolete in the Connecticut valley, and the new church attached itself to the Congregational Association. The change was not one involving any significant doctrinal difference and it seemed of slight importance, but it was to loom large in the discussions which ensued.

The progress of the ecclesiastical controversy has thus been traced to its conclusion that it may not interfere with the direct story of the college. Returning to the college year 1804-5, the situation was

as follows: President Wheelock, Professors Smith and Hubbard and the Dothan group, together with a few women in Hanover, claimed membership in the original church which, they said, had been disrupted by the action of a factious minority. As a result of the secession of the residents of Hanover, the president and his supporters claimed that they were deprived of their proper "ecclesiastical privileges" and their right to participate in the affairs of the church organization handed down to them by their fathers. On the other hand, the Hanover members, except those mentioned above, but including Professor Shurtleff, maintained their right to manage their ecclesiastical affairs as they wished, without dictation from outside. Each party endeavored to obtain proselytes and, in particular, to attach to itself the unfortunate tutors who, from year to year, were added to the staff and whose selection for teaching positions in the college seems to have been influenced somewhat by their attitude in the controversy. Professor Shurtleff's position was thoroughly uncomfortable. Before his election to the professorship he had promised the president that he would heartily co-operate with "authority" in the affairs both of college and of church. At the time he had no anticipation of the outbreak which was to occur. When it did come on, he assumed no attitude of leadership, but contented himself with acquiescence in the decisions of the church whose pastor he was. Even this action brought upon him the violent hostility of the president, and he was decidedly *persona non grata* with the governing authority.

There was, however, a trump card the playing of which would definitely end the controversy in the president's favor. The members of the Hanover church, while they contributed to the support of their minister, did not feel themselves financially able to assume the entire expense of his maintenance; they were dependent on the services of a pastor most of whose pay came from the college. If the trustees could be induced to exercise their authority by forbidding Shurtleff to assume the pastorate, if they decreed that the Sunday services for students should be independent services, held in the college chapel, the inhabitants of the village would be left with a church building but with no one to fill the pulpit, and would, it was thought, soon be compelled to come to terms. So the president

turned to the trustees for assistance, and the controversy was changed from a quarrel between the warring factions in the church to one between Wheelock and the board.

At this time (1804-09) the trustees, in general, were supporters of the president, although the minority which regarded him with distrust was an increasing one. He was justified in thinking that, so far as the trustees were concerned, he could have his way. Nevertheless, even the more friendly of the members of the board received the ecclesiastical squabble thus thrust upon them with dismay and were highly embarrassed as to what to do with it. They endeavored to play the role of conciliators, without much success; they followed the lead of the president to a certain point, but refused to take the decisive action which he wished. In 1805 the board received a communication from the president and Professors Smith and Hubbard, who complained that they had been treated with disrespect and unkindness by the church, that certain members of it had accused the president of untruthfulness, that the Hanover party had seceded from the church in an irregular and improper manner, and that the petitioners could no longer commune with them as Christians, nor "hear with edification or comfort the preaching of those clergymen who have assisted or deliberately countenanced the secession of such members." The board appointed a committee consisting of the president, John Smith, and their strong partisans, Eden Burroughs and Stephen Jacob, to endeavor to effect a reconciliation or, if that was not possible, to report what measures might be adopted to satisfy the grievance of the complaining parties. At the same meeting a vote was passed commending John Smith for his services during the twenty-one years of his ministry.

During that time, read the resolution, he has walked in exemplary godliness and honesty, and proved himself to be a faithful and useful preacher and pastor. We deem it our duty to express an entire approbation of his past services, our grateful acknowledgement therefor and fervent prayers for his happiness.

In August, 1806, the committee referred to above reported that reconciliation was impossible and recommended that measures be taken "to protect the officers of the college in the enjoyment of their

natural religious rights and privileges," that in church services they be rendered independent of all others, that "their public services be solely directed to the benefit of the Institution and its Members," and that "such place be provided for Officers and Students of the College as will enable them and the whole of the Church of Dart. College to enjoy the ordinances of the Gospel without the interruption or intervention of any." This report was considered in connection with a formal complaint by the president against Professor Shurtleff, alleging, on eight counts, that he had neglected the duties of his office. The question was recommitted to the committee with a request for definite information as to methods by which the plan suggested could be put into practical effect. The committee was ready with a solution, by the terms of which the proprietors of the meeting house were to be asked, for a compensation not to exceed \$1000, to turn over the edifice for "the usual and stated religious services of the Presbyterian church," subject to the censorship of the "executive authority." At other times the building was to be open to the other society. It was also stipulated that the professor of theology should assume no parochial charge over any body except "the church, officers, and students of Dartmouth College," which, in the president's mind, meant his particular church, and that the expense of the undertaking should be met by increase in the tuition charge. While this recommendation was accepted by the trustees, upon investigation it was found that the proprietors of the church (who were, for the most part, the same persons as the members of the rebellious body) had no intention of thus abandoning the field and agreement on the suggested basis was found to be impossible. Despite the protest of Wheelock, a substitute was then suggested, by the terms of which the use of the building was to be shared by both bodies; a plan, moreover, which contained no limitation on the liberty of Shurtleff to preach to the newer group. This resolution was vehemently opposed by the president, but it was finally adopted by a small majority. That was the end of Wheelock's hopes of gaining victory through the assistance of the trustees. Even from a board, most of the members of which were friendly to him, he failed to obtain the arbitrary power which he so urgently sought. He must have found slight consolation in another

action taken by the board, in reply to an address presented in August, 1805, by thirty-eight ministers of New Hampshire and Vermont. In very respectful language these clergymen expressed their regret at the ecclesiastical controversy which was raging in Hanover, and asked that the board consider the question very seriously before adopting a measure forbidding Shurtleff to serve the new church; an action which, they thought, would certainly accentuate difficulties already acute enough. The memorial had been laid upon the table, but on January 8, 1808, it was considered again and the board voted "that whether the representation contained therein were founded on mistake or otherwise, the Board consider this attempt to influence their determination on the subject which the memorial refers as highly improper." In other words, the ministers were told in stately phraseology to mind their own affairs.

It is apparent that even those trustees who were most friendly to the president were somewhat impatient at his pertinacity in the church quarrel, while those who held him in low esteem, by his conduct in this issue became more firmly convinced that their opinion of him was entirely justified. Judge Niles was no longer the sole member of the board of this critical frame of mind. In 1801 Thomas Thompson, of Salisbury, New Hampshire, succeeded Elisha Payne. He was a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1786 and afterwards a tutor in that institution. He studied both theology and law, but eventually followed a legal career. He was a person of great suavity of demeanor, of easy, unaffected manners, and of wide popularity. Upon removal to New Hampshire, he soon took his place among the leaders of the Federalist party in the state. From him Daniel Webster received the greater part of his legal training. Thompson held many minor state offices, and was a member of the national House of Representatives from 1805 to 1807 and United States Senator from 1814 to 1817. In 1804 Timothy Farrar, of New Ipswich, New Hampshire, entered the board. He was also a graduate of Harvard, in the class of 1767, and for many years was judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the state. The third Harvard representative was Elijah Paine, 1781, of Williamstown, Vermont, chosen as a trustee in 1806, judge of the Supreme Court of Vermont, member of the United States Senate from 1795 to 1801, and judge of the

United States District Court of Vermont from 1801 to 1842. These men were of high repute, entirely capable of thinking for themselves, and they were not favorably impressed with the qualifications of John Wheelock for the leadership of the college. In the controversy over the action to be taken upon the ministerial memorial, they, together with one of the Olcotts, voted against the resolution which was proposed, and thus compelled the president himself to cast the deciding vote which made possible its passage.

In 1809 came the overturn which lost to John Wheelock the control of the college. John Smith died early in that year and Peter Olcott in the latter part of the preceding year. Two vacancies were thus created, and upon the selection of men to fill these places depended the subsequent trend of the board. The president had carefully selected his candidates; his nephew, William H. Woodward, 1792, son of Bezaleel, and since 1805 treasurer of the college, and Josiah Dunham, 1789, who had established the second newspaper in Hanover, the *Eagle*, but who at this time was a teacher and editor of the *Washingtonian* of Windsor, Vermont. When the votes were counted, it was found that his well-laid plans had been defeated and that two persons especially obnoxious to him had been selected as trustees: Asa McFarland, 1793, who had served the college as a tutor, but was now a minister at Concord, New Hampshire, and who had instigated the ministerial memorial mentioned above; and Charles Marsh, 1786, of Woodstock, Vermont, lawyer, United States District Attorney from 1797 to 1801, and member of the national House from 1815 to 1817. In after years it was alleged by Wheelock that these elections were prearranged, that the candidates had been carefully sounded upon their attitude and pledged in advance to oppose him and his administration. Color was lent to this assertion by the fact that Jeremiah Smith, Governor of New Hampshire for a single term in 1809, attended the meeting and probably turned the result by his vote. This incident was somewhat suspicious, for governors of the state (unless, like Governor Gilman, they were permanent rather than *ex-officio* members of the board) generally paid slight attention to the affairs of the college and seldom were present at meetings of the board. On the other hand, the trustees asserted that they selected the best men available,

that no previous conference had been held with the candidates, that there was no understanding as to their future action, and if they subsequently became opponents of the administration, that was because, as men of good sense, no other course was open to them. John Wheelock's protest would entitle him to more sympathy if it were not perfectly clear that he tried his best, without success, to bring about the selection of candidates committed in advance to his own cause. The election of these two men was enough to take from the president effective control, but the party opposed to him was increased in 1811 by the election of the Reverend John Smith of Salem, New Hampshire, subsequently professor in the Bangor Theological Seminary, to succeed Samuel Bell, resigned, and in 1813 of the Reverend Seth Payson of Rindge, New Hampshire, to succeed Eden Burroughs, deceased (the last survivor of those who served under the elder Wheelock). These men, Niles, Thompson, Farrar, Payne, McFarland, Marsh, Smith, and Payson, constituted the famous "octagon," so much heard of in the newspaper controversies which followed. The two remaining trustees, Judge Stephen Jacob of Windsor, Vermont, and Governor John Taylor Gilman of Exeter, New Hampshire, were generally on the side of the president.

At about the same time Wheelock added to his bad fortune by losing control of the "executive authority," as the faculty was then called. Ebenezer Adams, upon his election to a professorship in 1809, wavered for a time but finally cast his lot with the opponents of the president. Upon the death of John Hubbard in 1810, both parties united in offering the language professorship to Francis Brown, 1805. He declined the office, however, and the president then urged, as strenuously as he could, the candidacy of his close friend, the Reverend Elijah Parish, 1785, of Byfield, Massachusetts (concerning whom the views of John Quincy Adams have already been cited). Parish was of a hysterical, unbalanced temperament (if we may judge from his letters), and seemed singularly unfitted for the position for which he was so strongly recommended. It is doubtful if this was the objection to him that weighed most heavily in the minds of the trustees, but, rather, his subservience to the president. Whatever the reason may have been, they rejected the

nomination, and selected Zephaniah Swift Moore, 1793, who likewise at once joined the opposition. The trustees probably saw to it that most of the tutors should be of the same mind. So, in the course of two or three years, John Wheelock, instead of being opposed by a single member of the teaching staff, Professor Shurtleff, found himself confronted by the hostility of all of them except one, Dr. Cyrus Perkins of the medical school.

The effect of these changes was not slow in manifesting itself. Once for all, the trustees put a quietus upon any further attempt to involve them in the church dispute. Having received in 1811 a memorial from the president and other executive officers (limited in this case to Dr. Perkins and Tutor Mann) asking that church services be held henceforth in the chapel, a memorial supported by a petition to the same effect from fifty-five undergraduates, the board "resolved that it is due to the Hon^{ble} President . . . that the Trustees should distinctly state their opinions in relation to some of the more important points suggested in the memorial." This, with unmistakable clearness, they proceeded to do. They declared that it was in their minds by no means essential that any particular church should be so linked to the college as to depend on college funds for its support, although they did consider it important that regular gospel instruction should be available, so administered that the right of individual conscience should be in no way abridged. They thought that they had met the obligation for such instruction in the arrangements for religious services in the newer church, as made, but if the president and his followers felt that they could not participate in these services, the board had no objection to the use of the chapel for separate exercises, if the head of the college wished to take the responsibility of instituting them. They did not consider it a misuse of college funds to permit the professor of theology to act as pastor of the local church, as the president had charged, although they stipulated that such service must not interfere with the full performance of his duties to the college. And they concluded, with much emphasis:

The Trustees have long labored to restore the harmony which formerly prevailed in this institution without success, and it is with reluctance they express their apprehensions that if the present

state of things is suffered to remain any great length of time the College will be essentially injured.

The resolution prevailed in the board by a vote of seven to three. It put a final quietus to John Wheelock's hopes of action favorable to his pretensions from the board as it then was.

It was clear that the blame for "the present state of things" was assigned by the majority of the board entirely to the president. The tension prevailing between the two parties was henceforth extreme. Only a partial impression of it can be gained from the official records, but some indications of the acuteness of the dissension are apparent even from that source. Thus in 1811, in connection with the establishment of a minor disciplinary law, it was voted that action might be taken when "in the opinion of a majority of the executive officers" it should be required. The president strenuously objected to this phraseology as unprecedented, in that it deprived the head of the college of the special authority which he had always enjoyed, and placed him on the same plane in matters of administration as the humblest tutor. Three of the trustees supported his position and filed in the records a solemn remonstrance against the action of the majority. At the same meeting it was voted to recommend to the professors and tutors that they should receive no presents from the students, and that public notice should be given to undergraduates at the beginning of the next term that no such gifts would be expected or received. This measure seems entirely reasonable, but it was regarded by the president as being directed solely at one tutor who was his personal adherent, and as having for its purpose, not the establishment of a general principle, but the humiliation of a friend of his. Another vote deprived the medical professors of any share in the government of academic students; likewise, on its face, a reasonable enactment, but the purpose of which, in the president's mind, was to deprive him of the aid of his only friend on the teaching staff, Dr. Cyrus Perkins. The selection of tutors was another point of friction and, at times, candidates unfriendly to the head of the college were chosen to fill these offices, a selection which did not make for harmony.

The president, however, was not less active than the trustees in adding fuel to the flame. It may be remembered that the sum of

£800, the salary of the president from 1782 to 1786, had never been paid, nor had funds ever been available out of which it could be paid. In 1786 Wheelock had notified the board that this debt was to be regarded as an unrestricted gift by him to the college "if he should die without making some other disposition of it." Now, twenty-five years later, he endeavored to make that disposition. Pretending to regard this utterly hypothetical fund as real money, at interest for twenty-eight years, he calculated that the return from it should yield enough to endow one, and possibly two, new professorships. At a meeting of the trustees on November 8, 1814, he modestly proposed that his "gift" should be devoted to that purpose and that he, as donor, should have the authority to select the incumbents of the offices, a result which would have done much to give him control once more over the teaching body. If the trustees did not care to accept his "offer," he demanded payment of the "debt," with interest, the whole amounting to more than \$8000. The coolness of this demand exasperated the trustees beyond all measure, and they regarded it as strikingly illustrative of the peculiar and unfortunate mental characteristics of the president. No one of the members of the board had been in office in 1786, no one of them had ever heard of the claim, and the majority was unanimous in considering it as invalid originally, or, if it ever had any basis, as having been extinguished by the general settlement of 1795. As a claim, it was of course outlawed long before, and the assertion of it had no other effect than to accentuate differences already acute enough.

A clue to this extraordinary demand may possibly be found in a resolve passed by the trustees and placed in the record of their transactions just preceding the vote having to do with the claim discussed above. Of course it is only conjecture which leads one to suspect that the irritation resulting from the resolve of the trustees caused the hasty assertion of the curious demand of the president, and the two matters may have been considered in the opposite order, but the conjecture is a plausible one. The vote of the trustees is as follows:

Whereas the duties of the President of the University have become very multiplied and arduous and whereas it is necessary that

he should continue to attend to the concerns of this institution and the various officers and departments thereof and have time to prepare and lay before this board the business to which his attention should be directed, therefore resolved that in order to relieve the President from some portion of the burdens which unavoidably devolve upon him that in the future he be excused from hearing the recitations of the Senior Class in Locke, Edwards and Stewart.

The second section of the resolution contained the division among the professors of the tasks taken from the president. Moore and Shurtleff were to supply the pulpit, jointly, Shurtleff to hear recitations in Edwards' *On the Will*, Adams in Locke's *On the Understanding* and Moore in Stewart's *Philosophy of the Mind*.

This action, however charitably we may wish to look upon it, can only be regarded as a blow below the belt. It was introduced without previous consultation with the president and was, in fact, forced through against his emphatic protests. It could have but one purpose, the humiliation of the head of the college. For thirty-five years he had conducted the work of the seniors, he regarded himself as peculiarly fitted for the task, and he prided himself upon his efficiency in carrying it out. Now, in the middle of the year, with the courses well under way, he was ejected from the tasks which he had begun. The seniors received their assignments from him at the end of one day, as had all but the first nine senior classes since the foundation of the college; when they returned on the next day they were confronted, without a word of explanation, by a new group of instructors. Obviously the sensation produced by this dramatic change must have been extreme, and the board could have taken no step which should be more explicit in showing the low esteem in which the president was regarded by the governing authority of the college. The reason given for the action in the vote is obviously a shallow subterfuge. A second excuse, advanced in later years by the trustees, namely that Wheelock was an incompetent teacher, may have had some justification, but he was no worse in 1814 than he had been at any time for the thirty-five years before. In the controversy which afterwards raged, the trustees were suspiciously vehement in assertions that the intention of "vex-

ing the president or forcing him to resign" was never in their minds. Nevertheless, from a perusal of the documents, it is difficult to arrive at any other conclusion than that such a result was precisely what they wished to bring about. The question may be asked, why they did not proceed in a straightforward fashion to remove the obnoxious chief executive from his office. The answer, supplied with no attempt at concealment by the trustees themselves at a later date, is simple enough; the college owed him so much money that they felt themselves hampered in actually doing what they would have liked to do.

At this point John Wheelock determined to fight. His was no sudden resolution, inspired by the resentment of the moment, but one reached after mature deliberation and after consulting the more valued of his friends. Moreover, he entered the controversy with full appreciation of the inevitable consequences and with an inflexible determination to see the matter through to the end. And, finally, he outlined the measures which he was to follow with something of the skill of a master of strategy. He had lost in an appeal to the church, he had lost in an appeal to the trustees, he did not intend to lose in an appeal to the legislature, in which, as he thought, rested the final decision.

Legislatures are supposed to be subservient to popular opinion, and sometimes they really are. So the president determined to go back to the final court of judgment, the people at large, and to intrust his case to them. After repeated consultations with his advisers, he finally concluded that a detailed statement of the controversy should be prepared. It was thought best that the resulting pamphlet should be anonymous, and, further, that the homogeneity of the main narrative might not be broken, that a supplementary pamphlet, also anonymous, should be issued in which rather more general issues might be discussed. Wheelock himself composed the first of these productions, the second he intrusted to his friend, Elijah Parish. Neither of them ever admitted his responsibility for the work, but the correspondence between them, now available, puts the question beyond doubt. Even at the time there was no difference of opinion as to the authorship of the first (John Wheelock's style was unmistakable), and very little as to that of the sec-

ond. The pamphlets appeared in May, 1815, an edition of five hundred of the two bound together, and five hundred of each, separately. A nominal price was set on them but, as a matter of fact, they were distributed without charge in all quarters where it was thought they would do any good.

Wheelock's work was entitled, *Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College and Moor's Charity School, with a Particular Account of Some Late Remarkable Proceedings of the Board of Trustees from the Year 1779 to the Year 1815*. In it he traced the history of the college during the period in question, and assigned to the president (as could be done under the veil of anonymity) high credit for his exertions and the happy results coming therefrom. He pointed out the prosperous condition of the college, financially and otherwise, up to the change in the personnel of the board in 1809, and what he described as its declining state since that date. He contrasted the efficiency of the trustees then in office with that of their predecessors, in a manner highly unfavorable to the former. He made the specific charge that the Phillips fund had been perverted, in that the holder of the professorship was now allowed to serve as pastor of a church, a service contrary to the wishes of the donor. He asserted that the trustees had used their authority to disrupt a peaceful church by supporting a selfish minority in their demands for separation, thereby affecting injuriously the cause of religion in the college. He set forth the numerous irritating checks to which the president had been subjected in his endeavors to serve the best interests of the institution. He criticized the management of finances in recent years, especially the "high salaries" paid to the professors and their failure to do the work for which they were engaged. And he expanded in critical spirit upon other matters of such slight importance that it is not worth while to discuss them here. Through the entire production the accusations against the trustees were made in no guarded or indefinite terms, but in language that was plain, direct, and forcible. In conclusion, the author revealed his plan of campaign by the assertion that the tyranny of the trustees, such as he had described in the management of the college, was also manifest in the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs outside the college and was on the point of being extended to the conduct of the state,

“and if not checked the same spirit will be manifested in other ways contrary to the liberties of the people.” Only one remedy was available, he said, namely the interposition of the people themselves, acting through their organ, the legislature of New Hampshire.

The production, as a whole, was amazingly well done. It is true that, at times, John Wheelock could not refrain from diverging from the point and dragging in by the heels his classical lore, but, in general, the argument was well-knit, coherent and leading straight to the point. The reader absorbed from it a vivid cumulative impression of trustee arrogance, bigotry and incompetence; an impression buttressed by the citation of pertinent examples and definite statistics. Many readers did gain that impression and stood aghast at the tyranny of the board. That result was especially remarkable because in but one of the many accusations brought against the ruling powers was there any considerable basis of fact. The story of continual heckling of and interference with the president in his attempts to administer the college was entirely true, and it was obvious that no institution could continue in successful operation with such dissension among its leaders. But all the other indictments were based on nothing more substantial than utter moonshine. For example, there was no evidence, except the statements of Wheelock, in proof of his most telling point, namely, that the Phillips fund had been used in a way contrary to the wishes of the donor. No provision was to be found in the terms of the gift prohibiting the occupant of the professorship from acting as pastor of a church, and no one except the president had ever conceived the idea that Phillips had raised an objection to such service. Moreover, John Wheelock himself had never raised any objection to the policy so long as the professor should serve as pastor of *his* church; it was only when Shurtleff connected himself with the other ecclesiastical group that qualms entered the presidential mind. So, too, his treatment of the church difficulties was entirely uncandid and misleading. Convincing as was the effect of his story upon readers ignorant of the facts, the tale was, in practically all respects, a grotesque perversion of the truth. But most people did not know the facts and to them the indictment seemed serious enough.

Parish's contribution to the controversy was entitled, *A Candid Analytical Review of the Sketches*. Its object may best be stated in the words of the author, quoted from a letter to Wheelock written before the pamphlets were published:

My object has been to keep my own temper & make everybody else angry. There is a kind of secret biting satire, where the author is at his ease & seems to say only what he is compelled to say, but yet like a soft secret gas it penetrates the very bones. My object has been to make the Reader respect and love the P—t, but despise the Pr—fs & hate the Tr—tes.

In this highly ethical project the ministerial gentleman succeeded measurably well. Most impressive is the concluding admonition:

But duty impels us to a consideration more alarming than any before suggested, a consideration which strikes at our altars, our firesides; the rights and liberties of the people; this imperium in imperio, this independent government in an independent State as it claims to be, may soon become an organized aristocracy extending its influence with hallowed pretensions under a Sectarian banner to give a tone to the government and to manage the State. . . Soon may it be expected that the Laymen of this junto will have such a tender regard for pure orthodoxy that they will vote for none to be Preceptors of Academies, to be Trustees, or Professors or Presidents of our College but of this holy brotherhood; and these professors, in turn, will make every effort to raise lay orthodoxy to seats of power, to make those who elected them Judges of our Courts, Governors and Members of Congress. Already has not this business proceeded far? The cloud of aristocracy, which a few years since appeared in the western horizon, no bigger than a man's hand, now rules the College with a lash of scorpions and is casting its eyes on the government of the State. Soon the ambitious and aspiring must fly to their standard, bow to their yoke, and wear their badge of orthodoxy to gain appointments to office.

It was evident that Wheelock was determined to drag the college into the political arena and to take refuge in any means, no matter how much they might savor of demagoguery, to gain his ends.

The publication of these pamphlets was only the initial step; the president proceeded at once to follow the opening attack with practical measures of a decisive character. In the previous year (1814) he had proposed to the trustees that the legislature should be asked to appoint a committee to investigate the affairs of the institution. The board refused to take that action on the ground that there was nothing to investigate. Now he went about the matter alone. To the session of the legislature which met in May, 1815, he addressed a memorial, stressing the responsibility of that body for the proper conduct of the institution, and asking it to investigate definite perversions in college management. In particular, he complained that the trustees had applied property to purposes alien to the intention of the donors; that, from party motives, they had transformed the moral and religious order of the institution by depriving many of its members of their innocent enjoyment of its rights and privileges; that they had violated the charter rights of the president and had adopted improper measures in their appointments to executive offices; that they had formed connections with an academy and furnished aid from the college treasury to its students to the exclusion of those of other academies; that they had perverted the objects of Moor's School and obstructed the proper application of its funds; and that they had oppressed the president in the discharge of his duties. In support of this indictment each member of the legislature was supplied with copies of the *Sketches* and *Review* and the president, with many of his friends, settled themselves in Concord for a period of active lobbying.

The impetuosity of these attacks took the trustees entirely by surprise. They were scattered and could not come together to devise a concerted defense; time, moreover, was lacking for an elaborate rebuttal of the specious case presented by the *Sketches*. Five of the board assembled in Concord, but even then they could not agree. Judge Niles, in particular, was entirely in favor of a legislative investigation, if it should be fairly conducted. The result was that no serious opposition was offered to the project and a bill authorizing it passed the House by a vote of 124 to 50, and the Senate by 7 to 3. At that time both branches were under Federalist control. The committee named by the resolution consisted of Messrs. D. A.

White of Newburyport, N. A. Haven of Portsmouth, both described as "liberals" in religion, and the Reverend E. P. Bradford, a Presbyterian minister of New Boston.

The committee met in Hanover in August, the week before Commencement. John Wheelock desired the assistance of counsel and had, as he thought, made arrangements with Daniel Webster to represent him on that occasion. While in Concord he had casually mentioned the fact that, in the future, he might need legal assistance, and Webster, as casually, had agreed to act as his counsel. The president now sent to the lawyer a retainer of \$20 and asked his attendance at the hearing. To this communication he received no reply. It was explained later that Webster had been away from his home in Portsmouth and thus had not received the letter until long after it had been sent, leaving him little time to appear at the hearing, and that, in any case, the promise was meant by him to apply to court proceedings only and not to an appearance before an investigating committee. The truth of the matter is that by this time the political aspects of the controversy had become apparent and Webster did not have the slightest intention of espousing a cause which was to be directed primarily against the Federalist party, among the prominent leaders of which he himself was numbered. Wheelock, however, had some reason for thinking he had been misused, and his friends described the conduct of Webster in terms which were hardly flattering to the ethical concepts of the latter. It is interesting to speculate as to the nature of the institution which would now have its seat in Hanover had the retainer been accepted.

The investigating committee opened its sessions by giving the president full opportunity to make and develop his charges and for the trustees to present their case in rebuttal. It soon became evident that the committee had no intention of stating opinions or of making recommendations, but was to limit itself merely to reporting facts, without comment. Wheelock made rather heavy weather of it before this investigating group, and even his most ardent friends felt that the case was being injured by his presentation of it. Two of them, Elijah Parish and Josiah Dunham, even took it upon themselves to confer with some of the members of the board in order to find out whether a basis for reconciliation could not be

discovered. The trustees professed themselves to be willing to leave matters as they were if Wheelock would disavow the *Sketches*, while the friends of the president, on the other hand, thought he might be persuaded to drop the affair if two new professors, to be appointed by him, should be added to the teaching staff. These proposals were so far apart that nothing came of the conference, except to give opportunity for further recriminations later on. There is no evidence that Wheelock had anything to do with the matter. He was in no mood for compromise. The committee, its investigations concluded, left the college to prepare its report, which, however, was not to be available until the session of the legislature in May of the following year.

In the succeeding week came Commencement and with it the annual meeting of the board. The majority of the trustees were now in such a state of exasperation that their judgment was hardly as unclouded as might have been desired. They felt, with some justice, that the controversy had gone too far for peaceful settlement; they felt that a man of small mental capacity, but with arrogant pretensions, had imposed upon their good nature too long, and that the institution could be preserved only by removing him from his position of authority. They probably felt, likewise, that they had been personally insulted and maligned without reason and that vengeance was justly their due. So they set themselves to act with a severity that was somewhat of a surprise to all concerned. As a preliminary measure, a committee was appointed to investigate the authorship of the *Sketches*. This committee reported that, although direct proof was lacking, circumstantial evidence was so strong as to leave no doubt that President Wheelock was the writer. The board then voted that the president (not being present) should be notified of the purport of the report and be given an opportunity to offer any explanation that he saw fit. Wheelock replied at length to the effect that the board lacked jurisdiction over him and that the case was now before the proper tribunal to decide it, the legislature of New Hampshire. Whereupon, by a unanimous vote, on August 26, 1815, the board decided that it did have jurisdiction, and then, by a vote of eight to two, adopted a resolution citing six charges against the president (only one of which, the authorship of the

Sketches was of much importance) and concluding by a clause which removed John Wheelock from his position as President, Professor of History, and Trustee. The remaining members, Governor Gilman and Judge Jacob, filed in the record a remonstrance dissenting from this action on two grounds, first, that it was doubtful if the board had the legal right to remove the president, and, second, that the evidence connecting Wheelock with the authorship of the *Sketches* was not at all convincing. The dissenting members having withdrawn, Francis Brown, 1805, at the time a minister at Yarmouth, Maine, was unanimously elected to the presidency.

As we look back upon the matter it is not clear that the trustees were altogether wise in their drastic action. They had been advised strongly against it by the Federalist leader, Jeremiah Mason, who told them that they would make a martyr out of the president and give him a prestige which he could obtain in no other way. That was exactly what happened. On the other hand, there were some reasons, other than the exasperation of the board, which served to justify the step. The trustees had been informed that the president had told the legislature that six additional members of the board, favorable to him, must be provided if the college was to be preserved. If he should succeed in obtaining such an addition to the board, it was obvious that his control would be complete. As it turned out, all that eventually saved the case for the trustees was the fact that they controlled the presidency. If John Wheelock had not been displaced at the time he was, it is hard to see how he could have lost his cause. But the trustees could not have forecast the political developments which were to lead to that result. It is probable that their sole compelling motive was their righteous indignation. It is doubtful, moreover, if they had any idea of the uproar which their action was to raise.

Their doubts on the latter of these points, if they had them, were soon dispelled. The forcible displacement of Wheelock gave rise to a storm the violence of which has hardly been equalled in the political history of the state. Various forces rallied to his cause. Quick to seize the opportunity and to lead the attack was Isaac Hill, the shrewd, unscrupulous leader of the Democratic party, who filled the columns of his newspaper, the *Concord Patriot*, with lau-

dations of the president and with vitriolic denunciations of the trustees. It is perfectly clear that Hill cared not a jot for Dartmouth College, nor for the "venerable Wheelock," nor for "literary progress of the people of New Hampshire," but he did care a great deal for the Democratic party, and for a position for it on top dealing out the spoils of war, rather than below criticising a similar distribution of plunder by the opposite group. In the controversy centering around the college he saw a welcome opportunity for splitting the Federalist party, with Democratic advantage from the dissension which would result. Accordingly, he entered the controversy with his customary energy, and was followed by the rest of the Democratic press, as well as by a number of the Federalist editors who were friends of Wheelock, particularly by Josiah Dunham with his *Washingtonian* at Windsor, Vermont. The greater part of the Federalist press, including the local *Dartmouth Gazette*, was quite as vehement on the other side. As a result of the newspaper war, everyone who knew anything about the case, and many who did not, hastened to air their views in print. Some of these writers signed their names. Judge Niles was the author of a series of articles, so was Asa McFarland, so was Charles Marsh, so was Colonel Dunham. But most of them concealed their identity under pseudonyms, such as "A Friend," "Dartmuthensis," "Z," "Spectator," "Anti-Sketcher," "Bystander," "Quis libet," and the like. There was nothing about Dartmouth College which was not laid bare, with the basic facts always subject to widely contradictory interpretations. No one seemed to labor under any restraint in his choice of language. The supporters of Wheelock were referred to as "agrarians," "infidels," "French Jacobins," "villains," "*sans-culottes*," while the opposite party was compared to "the infuriated bigots of popery in the dark ages," and referred to as "a set of abominable persecutors," as "aspiring not only to the sole direction of our literature but to the management of our government," "the gangrened persecutors of President Wheelock," "like Jews who had sworn not to eat until they had killed Paul." President Wheelock himself, that he might not be without journalistic support in his own bailiwick, founded a paper in Hanover called the *American*, which continued as long as subsidies from him were available but no longer, being brought

abruptly to a close upon the very week of his death. Much bitterness was occasioned by the story of a communication generally referred to as the "purloined letter." It was a written message sent by Trustee Thomas Thompson to Professor Adams by a messenger who did not prove to be trustworthy. The seal was broken, the letter copied, and the contents soon set forth in print. In it Thompson informed Adams that a "certain man" must be "effectively put down." Affidavits should be collected "relative to such facts as will show that person's character in a just point of view." Great, unceasing and systematic efforts should be made by "our friends in Hanover" to collect evidence. "The expenses must be Clubb'd among us." The friends of Wheelock interpreted the communication as evidence of a malignant design to destroy the president; his opponents called attention to the ethical standards which would permit the opening and publication of a sealed letter, and made contemptuous allusions to an individual whose conduct was such that he objected to the collection of "facts" relating to it. Much heat, but very little light, resulted from the dispute centering around this issue.

The discussion was likewise carried on in numerous pamphlets published by one or another of the contending parties. In September, 1815, appeared the official reply of the trustees to the charges made in the *Sketches*, a pamphlet entitled *A Vindication of the Official Conduct of the Trustees of Dartmouth College*. It seems to have been written by Charles Marsh. In it, through the depth of their indignation, the board fumbled the opportunity very badly. A cool discussion of the charges of the president, and a dignified rebuttal of them, would have proved very effective, but the temper of the trustees was too hot to allow them to follow such a moderate course. It is true that they did marshal evidence against the accusations of the *Sketches*, and their answers, in most cases, were entirely convincing. But apparently they adopted the principle that whenever John Wheelock's head came in sight, it was their duty to hit it. Consequently they reviewed all the significant acts of the administration from the start, and in none of them did they find evidence of good management, loyalty to the college, or business sense. The absurdity of this picture was so extreme that it did much

to destroy their perfectly valid arguments on the issues immediately in question. Furthermore, it was difficult for a subsequent pamphlet to catch up with one of earlier issue, a difficulty increased by the fact that the *Sketches* were distributed gratuitously, while the *Vindication* was sold for two shillings. Therefore, while it had some effect, the production was not so successful in attaining its purpose as might have been desired. Just before this a pamphlet replying to those charges of the *Sketches* relating to the church controversy had been issued by a committee of the College Church, consisting of Deacon Benoni Dewey, Benjamin Gilbert, and James Wheelock. It was supposed to have been written by the last of these men. On the other side, Colonel Josiah Dunham published a reply to the *Vindication* of the trustees, a cleverly written but utterly unfair discussion of the issue, while Peyton Freeman, a lawyer of Portsmouth, also replied to those parts of the *Vindication* which seemed to him to be aspersions on his father, Jonathan Freeman.

The business of the college having thus been projected into the political arena, a word must be said of the factions which at the time were contending for supremacy in the state. Originally, New Hampshire had been strongly Federalist in its affiliations and had attached itself to the party which, in general, was aristocratic in its principles and distrustful of the policy of placing power in the hands of the people. Its leader, John Taylor Gilman, had been elected governor each year from 1794 to 1805. But the general decadence of Federalism and the growth of the Democratic party under the organizing skill of Jefferson had finally penetrated to New Hampshire, so that the Democratic leader, John Langdon, had been elected governor annually from 1805 to 1809, and in 1810 and 1811, while William Plumer, also a Democrat, had been chosen in 1812. The unpopularity of the embargo policy of Jefferson had resulted in a recrudescence of Federalism in 1809, when Jeremiah Smith had become governor, and a similar unpopularity of "Mr. Madison's war" had brought John Taylor Gilman back into office by small pluralities in 1813, 1814 and 1815. Among the leading Federalists, aside from Governor Gilman, were Jeremiah Mason, Jeremiah Smith, Thomas Thompson and Daniel Webster, while William Plumer and Isaac Hill held similar positions among

the Democrats. Despite this temporary recrudescence, the Federalist party was doomed to rapid extinction and John Wheelock showed good political sense in attaching his cause to the Democratic side.

But purely political differences were not the only ones which separated the two parties. Although curious abnormalities appeared in individual cases, in general the Federalists were of the Congregational denomination and were supporters of the policy of a legal combination of church and state. In the early days of New England such a relationship was regarded as natural, and even at the time in question it was the law of New Hampshire that any town might legally appropriate money for the support of a minister, and that every citizen should be compelled to contribute by taxation to such support unless he could prove his affiliation with another denomination. Proof of such affiliation was sometimes difficult to establish before judges of the dominant party, one of whom, for instance, is on record as having ruled that a Universalist was enough of a Calvinist to be taxed for the support of a minister of the latter sect. The settled, propertied, more or less aristocratic adherents of Congregationalism regarded with horror the gradual spread of the principles of the "atheist," Jefferson, and they looked with dire forebodings upon the disappearance of all morality and religion which they expected to result from his political success. The Democrats, on the other hand, largely composed of adherents of the Methodist and Baptist churches and of those of no religious affiliation, were highly exasperated at the interference of legal enactments with their private convictions and protested vehemently against what they termed "law religion." In particular, William Plumer, although in his early years a leading Federalist, had a consistent and highly creditable record of opposition to the enforcement of sectarian obligations by the power of the state.

So far as college affairs were concerned, the controversy, from a political point of view, was almost entirely one between Federalists. John Wheelock had always belonged to that party, although never active in politics, while, of his leading supporters, Elijah Parish was so vehement and outstanding a Federalist that an election sermon of his was refused by the Massachusetts General Court

the usual compliment of being printed, on account of its extreme political bias, and Josiah Dunham was editor of a Federalist newspaper the partisanship of which was pronounced. Curiously enough, the only Democrat as yet involved in the controversy was the most uncompromising opponent of the president, Judge Niles. He was as extreme and bitter in matters of politics as he was in those of theology, but, as a resident of Vermont, he had slight influence over his party friends in New Hampshire. As to the religious issue, the question is not quite so clear. There is no doubt that the sympathies of the majority of the trustees were with the dominant religious sect. Three of them were ministers of the Congregational Church and the remainder were loyal laymen of the same organization. Their opponents accused them of managing the college so that it should become a tool of the more extreme branch of that sect. The accusation was even advanced that the Andover Theological Seminary was craftily plotting to gain control over all the colleges in New England, and the action of the trustees was but a part of that conspiracy. The board, on the other hand, declared that religious questions had never been considered in the management of the college. That assertion is probably not entirely accurate, but it does seem to be true that, so far as religion was considered, the measures of the board were not essentially different from those which would have been adopted if the control of the president had been complete. Wheelock, himself, was compelled to admit to the legislative committee that his "speculative views of religion" were identical with those of the trustees, although he maintained that his conceptions of proper church organization were not the same as theirs. The difference between the Congregational and Presbyterian forms, however, was not sufficient to involve much of an issue. Probably under the dominance of neither of the contending parties would a person whose creed was not thoroughly Calvinistic have stood much chance of appointment to the teaching force or of election to the board. As far as the dismissal of the president is concerned, it does not appear that religious issues played any part whatsoever; the objection to Wheelock was entirely based on his personal characteristics and in no way on his political or his religious beliefs. But so successful were the deposed president and his friends in the adroit

management of their case that a majority of the people of New Hampshire were convinced that a liberal and forward-looking college executive was being driven from office by the bigotry of a reactionary cabal. Not only was that grotesque view of the controversy prevalent at the time, but it has survived to the present day. It is set forth in detail in most of the rather ineffective attempts to write the history of New Hampshire which have appeared since that admirable production of Jeremy Belknap in the early years of the nineteenth century, and it has been generally followed by those biographers of Webster whose investigations of the question have been superficial and incomplete.

The state campaign in the spring of 1816 was waged on the college issue. The Federalists faced a difficult situation. The war of 1812 was over and they no longer possessed its unpopularity as an asset. In the nation as a whole the party was on the decline, although, at the time, the rapid extinction which was soon to be its fate could not be forecast. Division existed in its own ranks. The Democrats were united, they had as their leader in the canvass a popular figure in William Plumer, and an adroit manager in Isaac Hill. They had an asset in the "venerable and learned Wheelock," driven from the office he had held so long and managed so well by a malignant party group. Many of the alumni of the college, particularly those of his earlier years, held him in high respect and rallied to his cause. The members of the public at large, who did not take the trouble to study the matter in detail, regarded him as a misused man. In the village of Hanover, while the majority was on the side of the trustees, Wheelock was supported by men of prominence such as his nephew William Woodward, treasurer of the college, Colonel Amos Brewster and Major James Poole, all influential in local politics. On the other side were the college faculty, headed by Francis Brown, and such citizens as Benjamin Gilbert, a local attorney, James Wheelock, and most important of all, Mills Olcott, also a lawyer, and by all odds the most influential member of the community. Rural Hanover was entirely favorable to the Wheelock interests. To make a long story short, the election resulted in the complete rout of the Federalists. Plumer's majority was over 2000, the House was Democratic by a majority of ten, while even the

Senate, ordinarily a Federalist stronghold, contained seven Democrats to three Federalists.

The defeated party endeavored to console itself with the belief that the Democrats, who, they thought, really cared nothing for the Wheelock interest, having used the college dispute as a pawn in the political game, would now abandon the president to his fate. Their hopes were destined to be sorely disappointed. The Democrats went loyally to work to pay their party debts. In his inaugural address, Governor Plumer expressed himself as much perturbed at the survival in a republic of so many institutions the organization of which was based on the "monarchical principle." Various examples were cited, and remedies recommended. Among other institutions which seemed to him to be in crying need of reform was Dartmouth College. He considered it to be contrary to democratic principles that so small a number of men as seven should form a quorum of the board and thus exercise complete dominance over the institution. Nor did he believe it to be in agreement with the fundamentals of democracy that such a board should be a self-perpetuating group. He was convinced that the mode of election ought to be changed and the choice of trustees placed in the hands of some body external to the board itself. He believed that the number of trustees should be larger. He felt that a greater degree of publicity in college affairs should be required by a stipulation that reports concerning the institution must be made annually by the president to the governor. And he expressed entire confidence that ample legal authority to make the changes in the charter which he recommended rested in the legislature. The House was not slow in responding to these demands and the movement was egged on by Wheelock's nephews, William Woodward and General E. W. Ripley, (the latter of whom had acquired some military prestige in the war of 1812) who remained in Concord during the session and devoted their time to intensive lobbying. They are supposed to have been the real authors of the resulting legislative act. A feature of the controversy now embarrassing to the dominant party was the report of the investigating committee, appointed by the previous legislature at the instance of the president; a document which was now ready for presentation. Although no statement of opinion was contained in it, the facts

which it did contain were not very effective in contributing to the strength of the Wheelock cause. The party devoted to the president now endeavored to suppress this document, while the friends of the trustees struggled to bring to it all possible publicity. It was finally referred to a committee, which reported that the evils now rife in the college came from radical defects of the charter and were not to be remedied by consideration of such facts as the report revealed. In the meantime, a bill had been made ready, and it was jammed through the legislature with slight regard to the feelings of the minority. The repeated requests of the trustees for a hearing were contemptuously disregarded and finally, when the provisions of the act became publicly known, no attention was paid to an elaborate remonstrance which they carefully prepared. On June 26 the measure passed the house by a vote of 96 to 86, a division in which party lines were strictly drawn. All the Federalists were in the minority column and all but two of the Democrats were numbered with the majority. Seventy dissenting members took advantage of their constitutional (but little-used) right to register a protest on the journal of the House. On the following day the act passed the Senate and was at once approved by the governor.

The law was adroitly framed to accomplish its object with the minimum of difficulty. On the face of it, no one was ejected from office or deprived of his privileges. No protest was raised to the legality of the process by which John Wheelock had been removed from the presidency, an action which he had always considered to be contrary to the provisions of the charter. As a matter of fact, the dominant party had no intention of questioning the validity of a process which they themselves, in the near future, fully intended to utilize. By the first provision of the new law the name of the institution was changed from Dartmouth College to Dartmouth University. The number of trustees was increased from twelve to twenty-one, a majority of whom were to form a quorum. The nine additional members needed to complete the enlarged board were, in the first instance, to be *appointed by the governor and council*; although, after these initial appointments, replacements were to be made by the board itself, as had always been the case. In addition to the trustees, a board of overseers was instituted. It was to consist

of the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Vermont, and twenty-one other members appointed by the governor and council. Future vacancies were likewise to be filled by the appointing power of the state executive. The overseers were to have power to confirm or negative votes of the trustees relating to the appointment and removal of president, professors and other permanent officers, and similar veto power over college salaries, the erection of new buildings, and the establishment of new professorships. It was stipulated, also, that an annual report to the governor must be made by the president. Finally, the curious provision was inserted that not only should perfect freedom of religious opinion be enjoyed by all connected with the institution, but that "any man or body of men shall have the right to endow Colleges or Professorships of any sect of the Protestant Christian religion. And the trustees shall be held & obliged to appoint Professors of Learning & Piety of such sects according to the will of the donors," a provision which might well have led to strange and embarrassing results.

In the light of subsequent discussion which tended to befog the real issue, it may be well to bear in mind that the one and only object of this act was so to pack the board that the authority of John Wheelock should again be predominant. To obtain that end the president's friends were willing to submit to a modicum of state control. It should also be remembered that the trustees were perfectly unconcerned about every provision of the act except the one which provided that the new trustees should be appointed by the governor, with the result that the control of the board would be taken from their own hands. The number of trustees did not concern them, so long as the new members should be of their way of thinking, nor were they disturbed by the institution of the overseers, nor by any other provision of the act. The whole motive of the struggle on either side was for control of the board. One man alone seems to have been interested in the act from the point of view of a proper fundamental basis for a college, and that was Governor Plumer, who, if we may judge from his correspondence, appears to have been honestly concerned with that aspect of the situation.

Up to this time popular sympathy had unquestionably been with John Wheelock. The violence with which he had been driven from office had secured for him general support. Now, however, forces of a similar character were working the other way. The action of the legislature, its partisan attitude, its utter disregard of the protests of the trustees and its failure to give them a hearing, the abrupt refusal of the legislative authorities to consider more than one side of the case, their summary dismissal of the carefully prepared report of the investigating committee, the doubtful legality and obvious partisan intent of the law, all savored of a tyranny quite as extreme as that of which the trustees were accused. As a result, the friends of the board, who had been uncertain and divided before the act was passed, now became a militant and united group, smarting under a sense of injustice, and whole-heartedly determined to do all in their power to defeat the purpose of a partisan majority. In particular, the Congregational church rallied to a cause which it now deemed its own. Official action was taken by many associations of that denomination, numerous resolutions were passed supporting the trustees, and contributions were raised to provide for the anticipated legal outlay. Various communications from other sources were received by the board urging it not to yield, and to carry to the tribunal of last resort its protest against an act morally indefensible and legally unconstitutional. The party of protest thus organized never constituted a majority of the people of the state, but it was numerous, influential and particularly fortunate in the leaders whom it was able to attract.

As a matter of fact, the trustees were in a frame of mind which required little encouragement to confirm them in their plans of resistance. At the meeting held at Commencement, 1816, they passed a long set of resolutions outlining in detail the recent stages of the controversy, giving reasons for their dissatisfaction with the New Hampshire law, and concluding as follows:

Resolved that we the Trustees of the Dartmouth College do not accept the provisions of an act of the Legislature of New Hampshire approved June 27 1816, entitled "An Act to Amend the Charter & Enlarge and Improve the Corporation of Dartmouth College," but do hereby expressly refuse to act under the same.

In making this decision the board was fully cognizant of the consequences which were involved. Its members knew the tangle of litigation which must ensue. Their resources seemed entirely inadequate to enable them to pursue the course upon which they thus embarked. But they were determined to see the controversy to an end, whatever might be the cost. It now became apparent that their possession of the presidency was an indispensable asset. They likewise had control of the teaching force. From the point of view of action in the courts, it was important that the College should at all times be a going institution, and they had at their disposal all the facilities of personnel to keep it in that condition. They did not have possession of the offices of clerk of the board or of treasurer, both of which were held by William Woodward, who was devoted to the Wheelock interest, and who, in the former capacity, had the custody of the charter, seal, and records of the trustees. He was removed from this office at once, and a demand was made upon him for delivery of the property of the College which was in his possession; a demand with which he refused to comply. As treasurer, he had possession of the accounts and funds. These, likewise, he refused to turn over to the trustees, nor would he recognize the authority of the old board or consent to serve further under it. Accordingly, at an adjourned meeting held in September, he was removed from this office also and Mills Olcott was elected to succeed him.

In the meantime, Governor Plumer was finding the organization of the "University" not to be an entirely simple affair. He promptly made appointments of the additional trustees called for by the new act, by the selection of persons upon whose loyalty he thought he could rely, and he likewise nominated members of the new board of overseers.¹ In accordance with the provisions of the law, he summoned a meeting of the enlarged board to be held in Hanover at

¹ The new trustees were Josiah Bartlett of Stratham, Joshua Darling of Henniker, William H. Woodward of Hanover, Matthew Harvey of Hopkinton, Levi Woodbury of Francestown, Henry Hubbard of Charlestown, Cyrus Perkins of Hanover, Aaron Hutchinson of Lebanon, and Daniel M. Durrell of Dover. Among the overseers were such men of prominence as Ex-Governor John Langdon, General Henry Dearborn, at one time Secretary of War, Joseph Story, Justice of the Supreme Court, Benjamin Crowninshield, Secretary of the Navy, Levi Lincoln, Governor of Massachusetts, and Joseph Bentley, the bitter Salem diarist.

Commencement, 1816, and was present himself to inaugurate the new venture. His experience, however, was far from satisfactory. At the very outset he encountered difficulty in securing a room for the meeting of the board. A request to President Brown for the key to the library room was met neither by acquiescence nor denial, the president asserting that he did not have the article desired and being very vague as to where it might be found, but hinting that Professor Shurtleff, as librarian, might have it. The latter, upon being appealed to, refused to commit himself in writing but sent an oral message stating that he, a mere professor, had nothing to do with college keys. He thought, however, that President Brown might know about them. So far as the governor could learn, there was no key, but it was an assured fact that the door was locked and in that condition it remained throughout the Commencement season. When a room was finally secured (the private office of William Woodward), a paucity of trustees appeared to fill it. The legislature had made a tactical error in placing the number necessary for a quorum at too high a figure. Of course President Brown and the "octagon" refused to attend. Ex-Governor Gilman, who had loyally supported President Wheelock up to this time, now became disgusted with the course of proceedings and refused to have anything to do with the new institution. He likewise purposely neglected to resign, so that his seat in the University board was not only vacant but could not be filled by another. Judge Stephen Jacob of the old board did appear, but the best that could be done was to muster an attendance of ten, one less than the number needed for a quorum. As a result, nothing could be accomplished except to discuss the situation and take action of an informal character. The professors were summoned to appear before the board, but they politely declined to do so, on the plea that such action was not usual, and because, in any case, they understood that no legal meeting had convened. The overseers also lacked one of the necessary quorum and, as a matter of fact, never in the short history of the University did they assemble in force sufficient to take legal action. The governor and his friends were thus left in a very ridiculous position and, although the chief magistrate is described as a person of great equanimity of temper, his mental poise must have been put to a severe

strain. To add to the difficulty, the Superior Court, upon being asked to interpret the act of June 26, gave an opinion that the power of the governor to fill vacancies in the boards of trustees and overseers had expired at the meeting of August 26, although a quorum was not present on that occasion. It seemed evident, moreover, that the governor had no power to summon a further session, nor had the meeting of August 26, in absence of a quorum, power to adjourn to a fixed date. The University appeared, for the time at least, to be stuck firmly in the mud.

But action by the legislature was always available to the University party. In accordance with Governor Plumer's recommendation, an act was passed at the regular December session of that body extending the time during which the governor should be authorized to make appointments to the board, making it legal for a meeting at which a quorum was not present to adjourn to some fixed time, authorizing the governor to call another initial meeting, and fixing the number necessary for a quorum at nine instead of eleven. An act was also passed subjecting any person who should take it upon himself to perform the duties of president, trustee or other officer of Dartmouth College, except in conformity with the acts of the legislature, to a fine of \$500, to be recovered by any one who should successfully sue therefor, one-half to go to the complainant and one-half to the University.

The second of these acts temporarily threw the College party into some confusion. Difference of opinion arose as to what should be done. Trustee Thomas Thompson thought that the officers of the institution should cease to act as representatives of Dartmouth College and should carry on their work henceforth as private individuals. As this policy would have thrown obstacles in the way of the most satisfactory conduct of the legal proceedings, it was objected to by others of the board, particularly by Charles Marsh. It was finally decided that the object of the act was to terrify the officers into doing exactly what Thompson proposed that they should do, that there was no intention of actually carrying the law into practical effect, and that if an attempt was made to do so, no jury would convict. The teaching force being willing to run the risk of thus regarding the penal act as an empty threat rather than a measure to be taken

seriously, it was decided to pay no attention to it. The outcome was to prove that this estimate of the law was accurate and no attempt was ever made to put its provisions into force.

The way being thus cleared by the action of the legislature, the University board was called to meet at Concord on February 4, 1817. After a delay of two days for the appearance of a quorum, the board was finally ready for business. Complaints were at once drawn up against Professors Shurtleff and Adams for performing the duties of their offices without taking the oath of allegiance to the state, as required in the act of June 27. Complaints were also formulated against President Brown and the eight trustees on similar grounds and also because they had refused to attend legally summoned meetings of the board. These culprits were cited to appear at an adjourned meeting to be held on February 22 to answer the charges. William Allen was chosen to fill the vacant professorship of logic, metaphysics and ethics, and Nathaniel H. Carter, 1811, was elected professor of languages, at salaries of \$600 each. Brown, Shurtleff, and Adams failed to appear at the adjourned meeting but sent a communication refusing to admit the jurisdiction of the board. They were at once removed from their positions, as were the trustees, Farrar, McFarland and Payson. Machinery was put into operation to dispose of the remainder of the "octagon" in a similar way, a result which was attained at subsequent meetings. John Wheelock was triumphantly reelected president of Dartmouth University. He was now in an infirm condition of health and no one believed that he could ever actually resume the duties of the office. William Allen was transferred from the chair of logic to that of theology and was asked to act as president so long as Wheelock should remain incapacitated. James Dean, 1800, at that time a member of the teaching force of the University of Vermont, was appointed professor of mathematics and philosophy. Thus dawned for John Wheelock the day of his dreams. He had triumphed over his enemies and was once more in the seat of his father. He showed his gratitude by giving to the University five farms in Sharon and Strafford, Vermont, two houses and lots in Hanover and a full release of the debts (amounting to \$6000) due to him for his past services. He knew that it was too late for him to enjoy, personally, the fruits of his victory; that

he was in no physical condition ever again to engage actively in the affairs of the College; but the family dynasty was once more in power. William Allen, destined for the presidency, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1802 and a minister in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, had married Wheelock's only daughter, Maria, and was regarded as one of the clan.

The preliminaries being thus out of the way, the scene of action was moved to the College itself. Amos A. Brewster, James Poole and Dr. Cyrus Perkins were appointed Superintendents of Buildings by the University board and were instructed to obtain possession of the buildings of the institution. Accordingly, they made a demand on President Brown for immediate delivery of the College keys. As a matter of course they were refused, whereupon they made a forcible entry into the buildings, removed the College locks and substituted their own. The College officers made no resistance to this attack, but contented themselves with an elaborate defense of their course of action, which was published in the newspapers and independently as a pamphlet and was widely distributed through the state. They quietly moved the scene of their activities to a building called Rowley Hall, standing east of the site of Rollins Chapel, the first floor of which was occupied by a hat store. The structure was subsequently moved to the present site of Wheeler Hall and then to the south side of Elm Street, and was among the houses demolished to make way for the Baker Library. This hall was adequate for chapel services, while the recitations were held in various private rooms. The University now had control of all the college buildings, it had a complete faculty, and a very small number of students. The College, on its part, had a complete faculty, it occupied makeshift quarters, and had nearly all the students. That was the general condition of affairs throughout the existence of the rival institutions in Hanover. On April 4, 1817, John Wheelock died, after long suffering from what was termed dropsy, "thought to have risen," according to David Ames, an undergraduate, "from a State of melancholly and want of exercise." On June 13 William Allen was elected president of the new institution and was henceforth to carry on the contest which his father-in-law had so wrong-headedly but dauntlessly begun.

As a matter of fact, Allen himself and almost everyone else, except the extreme partisans of the College, thought that the battle was already won. The University authorities were established in their seats by the highest authority of the state, they had no fear of the outcome of an appeal to the courts, and they regarded the legal difficulties which were pending merely as annoying incidents arising from the obstinacy of a wrong-headed group who had not wit enough to recognize their irretrievable defeat. Leaving for the present the condition of affairs in Hanover for discussion in a following chapter, let us consider the direct course of the controversy. From now on it was a legal dispute, to be decided only by the courts. The College trustees had absolute confidence in the justice of their case and a high degree of confidence in its legal strength. They had obtained the best advice and, in advance, had planned their campaign as a whole. The University party had absolute confidence both in the justice and in the strength of their case and awaited the onset with all confidence. The authorities of the College had slight hope, however, that a favorable decision would be rendered by the Superior Court of New Hampshire; it was obvious to them that their case must be so planned that an appeal would lie from that body to the Supreme Court of the United States. In an opinion from Daniel Davis of Boston, still preserved, dated August 14, 1816, the whole course of future action is outlined, the procedure to be followed is prescribed and the outcome at each step predicted with astonishing accuracy. Similar advice was obtained from other legal sources.

It was the feeling, however, that, while not much was to be expected from the state court, it would be a mistake in tactics to go directly to the federal judiciary. Accordingly, on February 8, 1817, the trustees instituted an action in trover in the Court of Common Pleas of Grafton County against William Woodward, treasurer, for misappropriation of the College charter, trustees' records, books of accounts, and seal, with damages fixed at \$50,000. Woodward himself was presiding judge of this court and, by agreement, arrangements were made to carry the case at once to the Superior Court. The facts, agreed to by both parties, were drawn up in a special verdict, and the point of contention, the validity of the act of the New Hampshire legislature, thus came directly before the higher

court for review. The case was argued in the May term at Haverhill, but was continued for further argument at the September term in Exeter. Although the proceedings in the small New Hampshire town were overshadowed by the subsequent hearing in Washington, it is doubtful if the former should yield in any way to the latter in dignity of argument, in ability of the contending counsel, or in the tone of the proceedings as a whole. At this time the bar of Rockingham County contained a remarkable group of lawyers, men of capacities highly unusual in so small and obscure a circuit. The College was fortunate in securing the three outstanding leaders of that group: Jeremiah Mason, a man massive both in physique and intellect, the lawyer of whom Webster said, "If I were asked who is the greatest lawyer I ever met, I should name John Marshall, but if you took me by the throat and forced a real opinion, I would have to say, Jeremiah Mason"; Jeremiah Smith, the most deeply learned in the law of his contemporaries, long Chief Justice of the court before which his plea was being made; and Daniel Webster. On the other side were George Sullivan, Attorney-General of the state, and Ichabod Bartlett. The arguments of the latter pair, as published, lose something by comparison with the remarkable production of Mason and even with that of Smith, but they shine when contrasted with the pleas on the same side afterwards made at Washington. Moreover, they won their case.

The opening plea at Exeter was made by Mason. In comparison with others it was not a lengthy effort, taking but about two hours in its delivery, but it covered, with admirable logic and clearly developed reasoning, practically every important point which afterwards entered into the case. Mason began his plea by stressing the fundamental nature of the change made by the act of 1816, which, he claimed, in point of fact did away with the old corporation and established a new one in its place. That action was beyond the power of the legislature for three reasons. I. *Because such acts are not within the scope of the legislative power.* The effect of the law, in reality, was to take away the whole or a part of the property of the plaintiffs and to transfer it to others. No vested right can be divested and taken away from one and transferred to another except by the agency of a court of justice. What is true of an individual is

equally true of a corporation. Merely because they are incorporated, the legislature has no power to abolish such bodies and dispose of their property as it wishes. Two kinds of corporations exist: the civil or public, such as the governmental divisions, towns, cities, etc., and private, such as banks, turnpike companies and the like. Over the former the legislature has a measure of control even without securing the consent of members of the corporation, because all the inhabitants of the area are subject to the corporate powers, not by specific choice of their own but merely by residence. Even in this case, however, the state cannot arbitrarily take away the property of one civic corporation and bestow it upon another without action of the courts. Private corporations, on the other hand, depending for their membership on the voluntary choice of individuals, are as exempt from legislative interference in the management of their property as are private individuals, and their possessions can no more be taken away from them and conferred upon others by legislative action than is possible in the case of persons. Charitable corporations belong to the category of private corporations. Although they exist for the benefit of the public, they are designed solely to perpetuate the will of private donors, and to attain the ends specified by those donors. Their property, derived from private gifts and destined for specific purposes, is as much entitled to protection as it would be if it had remained in the possession of those who had given it.

II. *Because of Special Restrictions on the Legislature by the Constitution of New Hampshire.* The act constitutes a violation of the 15th article of the constitution which provides that no subject shall be deprived of his property, immunities or privileges but by judgment of his peers or the law of the land. By the term the "law of the land" is obviously meant the *common law* as applied by the courts, and not specific acts of the legislature. The act also violates article 23, which forbids retrospective laws.

III. *Because it violates the Constitution of the United States.* It is in opposition to the tenth section of Article 1 which provides that no state shall pass a law "impairing the obligation of contracts." The award by the legislature of a charter to a corporation and the acceptance of it by the latter have all the elements of a

contract and are entitled to all the protection which such contracts enjoy. Such was the plea of Mason.

The argument of Jeremiah Smith raised no fundamental point not mentioned by Mason, but it enlarged and expanded many of them, and it was an extremely able and exhaustive development of the basic principles which had been set forth by his predecessor. Taken together, the two pleas made as effective a case for the College as it seemed possible to present. The concluding argument, two hours in length, was made by Daniel Webster. Mason and Smith were not orators, Webster most emphatically was. In these days an exhibition of emotion or feeling in the discussion of a constitutional question before the courts would be regarded as much out of place. That was not the case a hundred years ago. Webster's argument at Exeter was never reported, but the traditions concerning it indicate that it was quite as effective as his subsequent effort at Washington and moved the hearers much as did that historic plea.

The case of the defendants was ably presented by Sullivan and Bartlett. They argued that the act of 1816 did not annihilate an existing corporation and set up another; it merely enlarged and extended the foundation as it was. The old trustees were deprived of none of their rights and privileges, they were still possessed of all the powers which had been given to them in the original charter. The increase in their number deprived them of no authority. Such action was as much within the power of the legislature as would be the increase in the number of members of the court before which the case was being argued. The old trustees had no more reason to object to the action of the legislature than the present judges would have if others were added to their number by the same authority. Moreover, Dartmouth College was unquestionably a *public* corporation, its property was designed entirely for the public welfare, and was accordingly subject to public control. The trustees had no more property interest in the corporation than did any member of the community and the only organ through which the popular will, the fundamental controlling authority, could act was the legislature. The responsibility of that representative body to foster the educational development of the people, conferred upon it by the constitution, could be exercised only if the educational institutions of the

state were subject to its authority. If the legislature could not regulate this particular public corporation, its control over other public corporations, such as towns and counties, must likewise disappear. The concept that the grant of a charter was of the nature of a contract was entirely fantastic. In the transaction none of the elements of a contract were involved, the contracting parties could not be distinguished, no "valuable consideration" was given and, even if the elements of a contract could by any casuistry be detected in the charter grant, the agreement was one between the state and itself.

From the contrasted arguments it was evident that decision in the matter must eventually turn on the classification of the charitable institution as a public or a private corporation. It was also evident that, whatever the verdict might be, undesirable consequences were sure to result. If the validity of the act were confirmed, henceforth no charitable corporation would be exempt from legislative interference; at any time its purpose might be radically changed by legislative upheavals and its ends perverted by legislative whims. Under such circumstances, private donors could hardly be expected to intrust their property to organizations which were powerless to guard the purposes for which those donors wished their gifts to be applied. Donations to charitable corporations would be unrestricted gifts to the state. On the other hand, if the act should be upset, a corporate charter, once granted, would never be subject to change in subsequent years without the consent of the grantees, and an injustice perpetrated by legislative venality or honest mistake would be irrevocable.

The friends of the College who were present at Exeter were jubilant over the course of the proceedings. It seemed to them, as it seems to us on reading the arguments, that the attorneys on their side had rather overwhelmed their opponents. The lawyers, however, labored under no such delusion. Webster told President Brown, "It would be a queer thing if Gov. P's court should refuse to execute his laws." As a matter of fact, at the legislative session of 1816 another act, secondary in importance only to that relating to the College, was one reorganizing the judiciary of the state. That law, in effect, turned out of office the existing Superior Court, the judges of which were all Federalists, and instituted a new court

whose members were appointed by Governor Plumer. It is only fair to say that in pursuing that policy the legislature did no more than a preceding Federalist legislature had done upon coming into power in 1813. The new democratic judges were William A. Richardson, Samuel Bell, and Levi Woodbury, the last two graduates of the College. Webster did not mean that the court, in the approaching decision, would be controlled by dishonestly partisan motives. Rather, the question, from a legal point of view, might reasonably be decided either way and it was to be expected that the type of argument which coincided best with their political habits would loom largest in the minds of the judges. Although Judge Woodbury's name appears with the others in the opinion presented, it is not probable that he shared in the decision. As trustee of the University he was an interested party, and as a man of a high sense of honor he could hardly have participated in the case.

The decision finally rendered at a session of the Court at Plymouth on November 6, 1817, was all that Webster had feared. The opinion, written by Chief Justice Richardson, classed Dartmouth College as a *public* corporation. Its officers, the court maintained, have no interest in its property beyond that of any other persons in the community. Accordingly, a trustee of the College is a public officer, exactly like a governor or a judge, and is subject to the same legislative control. Addition of new members to the corporation in no way affects the personal rights of the trustees because, as persons, they have no special rights. As to their right to manage the property which, it might be argued, could not be taken away "except by law of the land," the acts of the New Hampshire legislature *are* the law of the land, and so, in this respect no constitutional provision is violated by the act under consideration. The claim that the charter is a contract is entirely untenable. No precedent for such an opinion could be found, and if the principle should be established "it will be difficult to say what powers, in relation to their public institutions, if any, are left to the states. It is a construction repugnant to the principles of government because it places all the public institutions beyond legislative control." Nor did the court deem it a proper governmental policy to place great public institutions under control of a few individuals and out of control of the sovereign

power. Make the trustees independent and they will ultimately forget that their office is a public trust—will consider the institutions under their guidance as their own, will use their power to gratify their own private views and wishes, or to promote the narrow interests of a sect or party. Courts cannot correct these abuses, they cannot legislate. The condition which would result would be highly unfortunate for the institution itself, for it stands in constant need of aid and patronage from the public and the state. Continuous friction would be the outcome if the institution did not follow the public will. "The last misfortune which can befall one of the institutions is to become the subject of popular contention."

The reasoning of the opinion was what had been expected. Webster considered it to be "able, ingenious and plausible," although incorrect. The trustees were undaunted and immediately set in motion the machinery for an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Mason and Smith did not wish to appear at Washington and the case was intrusted to Webster. He was somewhat reluctant to undertake it and professed himself unable to do more than to work over the arguments which his colleagues had developed, but finally he consented to enter upon the task. He was much disturbed, however, by the narrow basis upon which, of necessity, the appeal would lie. Apparently his confidence in the strength of a case based on the "impairment of contract" clause in the constitution was not great, although he had high hopes of a successful outcome if he could bring the case as a whole to the attention of the court. At his insistence, a series of supplementary cases, three in number, was accordingly instituted, in which citizens of Vermont who, it was arranged, should derive claims to possession of land in New Hampshire from sale or lease by the College trustees, should sue for fulfillment of the agreement. As an interstate dispute, the cases could be entered directly in the United States Circuit Court at Portsmouth. Special verdicts could be entered by agreement in the lower court, and the controversy, in all its aspects, would then go on appeal to Washington. Thus an anchor to windward was provided if the decision of the Supreme Court on the original case should be unfavorable; an arrangement which, as a matter of fact, although prudently planned, was to prove in the end something of

an embarrassment. These proceedings required considerable time, however, and the hearing at Washington was held before the supplementary cases could even be entered.

Webster had been asked to select his own assistant in the forthcoming appeal. He chose Joseph Hopkinson of Philadelphia, a leader of the bar, but now best remembered as the author of *Hail Columbia*. The University leaders did not think it worth while to incur the expense of sending Sullivan and Bartlett to Washington, and selected John Holmes of Maine as their representative. Some objection (later to prove well founded) was raised by a portion of them to this choice, and it was made mainly on the recommendation of the ostensible defendant, William Woodward. At the last moment, however, those who looked upon Holmes as unequal to the task succeeded in adding to their forces William Wirt, then Attorney General of the United States. The University party was in high spirits and was under no apprehension as to the outcome. The group, in fact, was of the opinion that the Court would throw out the case at once on the ground of lack of jurisdiction.

The appeal was called on March 10, 1818, and Webster at once began his plea. The capitol, destroyed by the British, had not yet been completely restored and the Supreme Court was sitting in a hired house. The room was small and the accommodations for spectators was limited, but not severely taxed by the small number of persons, mostly members of the bar, in attendance. Webster at this time was not the national figure that he afterwards became. He was thirty-six years of age and had served two terms (from 1813 to 1817) as member of the House of Representatives from New Hampshire. Recently he had abandoned political life, had removed to Boston, and was devoting all his efforts to his profession. He was recognized as an effective debater, an excellent speaker, and a competent lawyer, but he had not risen to a position of assured leadership in public affairs and at the bar. In fact, it was this very case which placed him, in the latter respect, at the summit of his profession. The cause, of course, was familiar to him and he was provided with the notes both of Mason and of Smith. He spoke extemporaneously for nearly five hours. The argument, as printed, contains only the bare skeleton of what he said, all the fire and eloquence have

been removed, all the "nonsense," as Webster called it, eliminated. There is little of basic importance in the plea that was not covered by Mason and Smith, although, perhaps, he stressed more than they had done his own favorite point, the loss by the trustees of the right of "visitation" or inspection, an inherent right of the donor and implicitly transferred by him to the board by the original charter. But while there was not much that was new, the smooth flow of the argument, the close-knit logic, the skill with which each point is related to the others and made to contribute to the whole, the ease with which the development of the reasoning may be followed even by those not versed in the law, and the cumulative effects of the repeated hammer strokes of logic, make it a masterpiece in its field.

It must be admitted that the Court permitted the counsel a somewhat remarkable latitude in the scope of his argument. The sole question before that body related to the New Hampshire law as constituting an impairment of the "validity of contract." To "assist in forming their opinion," Webster devoted nearly three-quarters of his plea to matters which were quite extraneous to that particular issue. They were matters entirely pertinent to the case, but not at all pertinent to the single aspect of it which the court had any right to consider. They did, however, make a highly effective, although perhaps somewhat improper, background for the comprehension of the controversy as a whole. And in that part of the argument which did relate directly to the issue involved, Webster presented a far more complete and well-defined picture of a charter as a contract than any one had before.

As a legal argument, therefore, the plea of Webster deserves the highest praise. But few there are, except those of the law, who today regard this effort in the light of a legal plea. The oratorical power, the fire, the deep and sincere feeling, the personality of the speaker, are the factors that make it live. Not many of us have read the digest of the argument as it appears in Farrar's Reports, but we are all familiar with the account of Professor Goodrich of Yale, woven by Rufus Choate into the web of that classic eulogy of Webster delivered in the College Church. No account of the college can omit so dramatic a story.

Mr. Webster entered upon his argument in the calm tone of easy and dignified conversation. His matter was so completely at his command that he scarcely looked at his brief, but went on for more than four hours with a statement so luminous and a chain of reasoning so easy to be understood, and yet approaching so nearly to absolute demonstration, that he seemed to carry with him every man of his audience without the slightest effort or uneasiness on either side. It was hardly eloquence in the strict sense of the term; it was pure reason. Now and then for a sentence or two his eyes flashed and his voice swelled into a bolder note, as he uttered some emphatic thought, but he instantly fell back into the note of earnest conversation, which ran throughout the great body of his speech. A single circumstance will show the clearness and absorbing power of his argument. I observed Judge Story sit, pen in hand, as if to take notes. Hour after hour I saw him fixed in the same attitude; but I could not discover that he made a single note. The argument ended, Mr. Webster stood for some moments silent before the court while every eye was fixed intently upon him. At length, addressing Chief Justice Marshall, he said—

“This, sir, is my case. It is the case, not merely of that humble institution, it is the case of every college in the land. It is more. It is the case of every eleemosynary institution throughout our country, of all those great charities founded by the piety of our ancestors to alleviate human misery, and scatter blessings along the pathway of human life. It is more. It is in some sense the case of every man who has property of which he may be stripped—for the question is simply this: Shall our state legislature be allowed to take that which is not their own, to turn it from its original use, and apply it to such ends or purposes as they, in their discretion, shall see fit? Sir, you may destroy this little institution; it is weak; it is in your hands. I know it is one of the lesser lights in the literary horizon of our country. You may put it out, but if you do you must carry through your work! You must extinguish, one after another, all those great lights of science, which, for more than a century, have thrown their radiance over the land! It is, sir, as I have said, a small college, and yet there are those that love it. . . .”

Here the feelings which he had thus far succeeded in keeping down, broke forth. His lips quivered; his firm cheek trembled with emotion; his eyes were filled with tears; his voice choked, and he seemed struggling to the utmost simply to gain the mastery over himself which might save him from an unmanly burst of feeling. I will not attempt to give you the few broken words of tenderness in which he went on to speak of his attachment to the college. The whole seemed to be mingled with the recollections of father, mother, brother, and all the privations through which he had made his way into life. Everyone saw it was wholly unpremeditated—a pressure on his heart which sought relief in words and tears.

The court-room during these two or three minutes presented an extraordinary spectacle. Chief Justice Marshall, with his tall, gaunt figure bent over as if to catch the slightest whisper, the deep furrows of his cheek expanded with emotion, and eyes suffused with tears; Mr. Justice Washington at his side with his small emaciated frame, and countenance more like marble than I ever saw on any other human being, leaning forward with an eager troubled look, and the remainder of the court at the two extremities, pressing, as it were, toward a single point, while the audience below were wrapping themselves round in closer folds beneath the bench to catch each look and every movement of the speaker's face. If a painter could give us the scene on canvas—those forms and countenances and Daniel Webster as he then stood in the midst—it would be one of the touching pictures in the history of eloquence. One thing it taught me, that the pathetic depends not merely on the words uttered, but still more on the estimate we put on him who utters them. There was not one among the strong-minded men of that assembly who could think it unmanly to weep, when he saw standing before him the man who had made such an argument melted into the tenderness of a child.

Mr. Webster having recovered his composure, and fixing his keen eye on the Chief Justice said, in that deep tone with which he sometimes thrilled the heart of an audience,

“Sir, I know not how others may feel (glancing at the opponents of the college before him, some of whom were its graduates) but for myself when I see my alma mater surrounded, like Caesar in the

senate house, by those who are reiterating stab upon stab, I would not for this right hand, have her turn to me and say—'et tu quoque mi fili'—'and thou too my son!'"

He sat down; there was a death-like stillness throughout the room for some moments; everyone seemed to be slowly recovering himself, and coming gradually back to his ordinary range of thought and feeling.

This marvelous description was written the year after Webster's death by one who was himself a master of stately phrase; it depends for its accuracy upon the memory of another concerning an event which had taken place more than thirty years before. How much of it is from Choate, how much from Goodrich, how much from Webster? Even if that question is satisfactorily answered, he of a critical frame of mind may ask what this high emotion has to do with the decision by the Supreme Court of the United States of a question of constitutional interpretation. By this time our mood may be one of exasperation at the questioner. We may, for once, abandon an attitude of skeptical suspicion. Undoubtedly Goodrich conveyed a true picture of the atmosphere of the occasion and of the impression made by the advocate upon those who heard him. That impression could hardly have been forgotten in the lapse of years. Really that is all that is of importance, and with clear conscience we may resolve to allow no questions of literal exactness to interfere with our enjoyment of this marvelously painted picture or to diminish our conception of the essential greatness of its central figure.

It was the unfortunate fate of John Holmes to follow Webster. He was a successful, if somewhat unscrupulous, politician, who excelled as a stump speaker and was out of place in the Supreme Court in every respect except for his complete self-assurance. Salma Hale, a representative from New Hampshire and a trustee of the University, who was directing the case in Washington, wrote to Governor Plumer that Holmes "was below our moderate expectations," while Judge Bell, of the New Hampshire Court, who happened to be in Washington, seized his hat and left the room in the middle of the argument, unable to listen further. The advocate had much to say about a royal charter being unfitted for a democracy and the like, but he made little impression. William Wirt was a very able lawyer,

but on this occasion his preparation was inadequate. He opened his plea by apologizing to the Court for lack of time properly to consider the case (apologies which, perhaps, might have been more fittingly offered to his clients), was neatly tripped by Webster at the very start on a point which was vital to his argument (and which, had he known his case better, he might have rescued), he became confused, asked for an adjournment and on the next day took refuge in what savored more of oratory than of argument. Altogether, the case was very badly handled by the University lawyers. Hopkinson closed for the College with an argument entirely legal in its nature, which answered very satisfactorily the special points raised by Holmes and Wirt. At the conclusion of the pleas, Holmes ventured to ask the Court when a decision might be expected. Marshall replied that some of the justices had not made up their minds and that the remainder were divided in their opinions, so that the decision could not be rendered before the next term of the Court, involving a delay of a year. This postponement caused some perturbation to the University authorities, who had confidently expected an immediate and unanimous decision in their favor. For the first time they began to entertain doubts as to the absolute certainty of final success.

During the year of suspense a number of incidents occurred which have given writers of later days occasion for rather loose speculation and inference. It has been asserted that Webster, in his plea, leveled a subtle attack at Jefferson and his policies, and that John Marshall, the lifelong opponent of that president, rose to the bait and seized the occasion once more to use the power of the court to check the progress of Jeffersonian principles. It is true that Webster said much that is not in the printed report, and it is also true that Salma Hale, a hostile observer, is on record in a letter to President Allen as objecting to the "interjection of political remarks." Very likely Webster or any other lawyer, then and now, would not hesitate to use such methods to gain his case, particularly if the principles he was attacking were principles to which he was honestly opposed. But to make much point of a personal attack on Jefferson, however veiled it might have been, before a Court five members of which were followers of that leader, three of them

owing their appointments to the bench to his hands, indicates a lack of ordinary sense of which the College counsel could never justly be accused. There appears to be very little warrant for the charge. Better supported is the accusation that methods, which appear in these days somewhat unethical in their character, were employed during this period of delay to influence privately various members of the Court. In particular, John M. Shirley, the writer of a monograph¹ on the case which is a storehouse of facts but conceived with so partisan a bias as to be somewhat unreliable in its inferences, makes much of College pressure brought to bear on Chancellor Kent, of New York, who was supposed to have influence over some of the justices, particularly Justice Livingstone. By telling half the story Shirley succeeds in making something of a case. It is true that energetic efforts were made by the College authorities, particularly by President Brown, to interest Chancellor Kent in the matter and to present to him, in the strongest possible form, the fundamental basis of the College case. What Shirley does not mention is that this activity was set in motion as the result of a visit by the Chancellor to Windsor, Vermont, a town in which public sympathy was strongly on the University side, where he was plied by Josiah Dunham with the University point of view. As a result, he was reported to have expressed himself as favorably impressed with the opinion of the New Hampshire Court. Knowing his influence, the College officials could take no other course than to put him in possession of the other side of the question, in its most complete form. It does strike us as peculiar that the opinion of any lawyer who was not a member of the Court, no matter what his prominence might be, should have been considered of so much weight, but if the Chancellor really did have that influence, no one can blame either party for seeing to it that he should be in possession of all the facts. There is, of course, no evidence as to the extent to which the Chancellor's opinion actually affected the judgment of any of the justices. Some criticism has also been directed at Webster's use of his friendship with Justice Story. Of course, the leanings of the various justices, then as now, was a matter of common knowledge. Webster professed himself

¹ *The Dartmouth College Causes and the Supreme Court of the United States*, by John M. Shirley, St. Louis, 1879.

as being quite sure that Chief Justice Marshall and Justice Washington would be on the College side, and Justices Duval and Todd almost as certainly on the other side. That left as doubtful Justices Story, Livingstone, and Johnson, and Webster was quite confident that Story eventually could hardly fail to favor the College point of view. The College leaders, however, were put into some confusion by a report that Story had served as counsel to the Wheelock party and was actually the author of the law which was the subject of contention. If that was true, the cards seemed to be stacked against them. There was probably no basis for the report. The lack of skill with which the law was drawn was evidence in itself that Story had nothing to do with it.

The rumors which emanated from various sources also raised misgivings in the minds of the University party. At first they believed that their case had been effectively presented at Washington. Salma Hale, indeed, arrived at the curious conclusion that Wirt had completely mastered Webster. He wrote to his friends at home that "Wirt grasped the cause with the mind of a giant and made Webster lower his crest and sit uneasy," and, again, of Webster, "I would not have his feelings today for half his fame, yea the whole." But as time went on it began to dawn on the University people that Hale was a very poor observer and that, as a matter of fact, the College counsel had overwhelmed their opponents. President Allen and Governor Plumer finally concluded that the outcome was in danger and that some decisive step must be taken. By this time they were aware of the pitfalls of overconfidence and were determined not to repeat their previous mistake. They decided to engage the most powerful counsel they could find, to see to it that he should prepare his case, and, thus prepared, that he should demand of the Supreme Court the privilege of a rehearing. William Pinkney of Baltimore, generally regarded as the leader of the federal bar, was secured to represent them. In January, 1819, Dr. Cyrus Perkins was sent to Baltimore with all the pertinent documents, so that the lawyer should be properly informed. The doctor wrote to President Allen, in rather amusing fashion:

He (Pinkney) does nothing about it except I am there. I see more than ever the importance of someone being on the ground to attend

to these great folks & remind them of what they have to do. Mr. P. will come out in the majesty of his strength and professes to feel strong in the cause—hopes that Mr. W. will appear on the floor again, from which it is to be inferred that he feels ready & able to meet him on the question.

While no one knows the lines which Pinkney intended to take, the University authorities were now attempting to shift the direction of the attack and to maintain that Webster's argument, if it had any significance at all, applied to Moor's School alone and not to Dartmouth College. They had arrived at the curious conclusion that Eleazar Wheelock, while he was unquestionably the founder of the school, bore no such relation to the college. The founder of Dartmouth College, they said, was Governor Wentworth, acting in his official capacity, and the college was thus in the beginning, and had since remained, a state institution. To support this peculiar conception of college history they had combed the papers of the elder Wheelock, carefully eliminating the many which did not coincide with their contention, selecting those that did, and wavering, in great doubt, over the use of those which gave color in different sentences to both interpretations of the question.

On February 2, 1819, the Supreme Court assembled to begin its annual session. William Pinkney was present, armed and equipped for the fray, conspicuously located so that he might catch the eye of the Chief Justice at the earliest moment. Dr. Perkins was there and so were Salma Hale and the rest of the New Hampshire members of Congress, all of them now of the Democratic persuasion and friends of the University. Webster and Hopkinson were there. The latter had outlined the situation in a letter to Webster:

It cannot be expected that we shall repeat our arguments merely to enable Mr. Pinkney to make a speech, or that a cause shall be re-argued because, after the argument has been concluded and the court has the case under advisement, either party may choose to employ new counsel. If the court consents to hear Mr. Pinkney, it will be a great stretch of complaisance, and that we should not give our consent to any such proceeding, but if Mr. Pinkney, on his own application, is permitted to speak, we should claim our right of

reply. The court cannot want to have our argument repeated and they will hardly require us to do it for the accommodation of Mr. Pinkney.

There was really no occasion for the College counsel unduly to concern themselves. When the Court convened, the Chief Justice carefully ignored the new and expensive addition to the University forces, who was left in the foolish position of a person with his piece all learned but with no facilities for speaking it. "Turning his blind eye" upon Pinkney, Marshall announced that during the recess the Court had come to a decision upon certain cases and those decisions he would proceed to announce. Among them was the action of the Trustees of Dartmouth College against William Woodward, brought before them on writ of error from the Superior Court of New Hampshire. As he read the opinion of the Court (composed by himself), consternation spread over the faces of friends of the University, and (it is not beyond the bounds of reason to infer) some measure of incredulous surprise over those of the College counsel at the unexpected completeness with which their own arguments had been accepted.

The opinion began by stressing the importance of the case and the responsibility under which the Court labored in thus passing upon the act of the legislature of a sovereign state and of the decision of its highest court. As to the case itself, two points were to be decided: 1. Is this a contract, protected by the constitution of the United States? 2. Is it impaired by the acts under which the defendant holds? As to the first question it was the opinion of the Court that no clause of the constitution could be interpreted to interfere with the authority of state legislatures over civil (or public) corporations, such as towns or counties. But the college is not a civil institution, nor is its property public property. It is a *private eleemosynary institution*, unconnected with the government, its funds bestowed upon it by individuals on the faith of its charter. It is true that the college has as its object the benefit of the public, but it is in no way a public institution nor one under public control. That being admitted, it follows that the charter of such an institution is plainly a contract, to which the donors, the trustees, and the

crown were the original parties; an agreement made on a valuable consideration, for the security and disposition of property; an agreement on the faith of which real property has been conveyed to the institution. That agreement must be considered a contract within both the letter and the spirit of the constitution. As to the second question, it was the opinion of the Court that by the increase in the number of trustees and the institution of a board of overseers the whole power of governing the college had been transferred to the Governor of New Hampshire; that the will of the state had been substituted for the will of the trustees in every essential operation of the college. A literary institution, molded according to the will of its founders and placed under the control of private literary men, had been converted into a machine entirely subservient to the will of the government. That was plainly an infringement damaging to the rights of the trustees as contracting parties. As a result of this reasoning, it was the opinion of the Court that the prior decision of the New Hampshire court was thoroughly repugnant to the constitution of the United States, and that its judgment should be reversed. Concurring with the Chief Justice were Justices Washington and Story (both of whom filed opinions of their own) and Justices Johnson and Livingstone. Justice Duval dissented without filing an opinion, and Justice Todd did not participate in the decision.

Thus ended on February 2, 1819, in the Supreme Court of the United States a controversy which had begun on December 13, 1804, at a meeting of a handful of persons held in the local church. It had begun with the church, it had continued in the board of trustees, it had passed from them to the people of New Hampshire, and, as a result of their decision, to the legislature and the executive authority of the state. From that point it had been taken over by the courts of New Hampshire, and then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. That it did not go still farther was due solely to the fact that there was no farther place for it to go. It is obvious that the opinion of Chief Justice Marshall ran counter to that of Justice Richardson in every single respect. There were those at the time who believed, and there are still those who believe, that Marshall was wrong and Richardson was right, but

there is no division in the opinion that the former's court was the tribunal of higher jurisdiction and had the power to make its authority prevail. So, to all intents and purposes, the controversy was over. It is true that the supplementary cases before the Circuit Court, which had been planned by the College party as a method of continuing the struggle should the decision in Washington go against them, now became a source of embarrassment, although not one of serious perturbation. The decision of the highest court was of so sweeping and decisive a character that there was little ground to believe that much could be made of these subsidiary cases. However, the University authorities seized the opportunity for a last effort and endeavored to bring before the Circuit Court "facts" which they regarded as "new" and pertinent. The hearing was held in Boston on May 27. The "new facts" did not appear to the presiding judge (Justice Story) to be of a nature to modify the decision of the higher court, and he so ruled. That was the end of the matter.

This is not the place nor the writer the person to discuss, in any detail, the effect of this decision upon the economic life of the nation. That it did confirm the rights of private eleemosynary institutions to manage their affairs without legislative interference, while of high significance, became, as the nation developed, of minor importance in comparison with its effect upon the whole organization of the country's business. The extension of the legal protection of contracts to corporate charters has been of the highest importance in determining the direction which our economic organization should take. Chancellor Kent said of the decision:

It did more than any other single act proceeding from the authority of the United States to throw an impregnable barrier around all rights and franchises derived from the grant of government, and to give solidity and inviolability to the literary, charitable, religious and commercial institutions of our Country.

In all probability the decision has been cited by state and federal courts more often than any other which the Supreme Court has ever made. While, at times, adroit interpretations of the fundamental principle have been made by the Supreme Court so that glaring injustice might not be done by the inflexible following of the letter

of the decision, to all intents and purposes that basic principle has been preserved intact. For more than a hundred years the decision has been regarded as "the bulwark of private property."

Our interest in the matter, however, has mainly to do with its effect upon the college. At times it has been argued that the outcome was unfortunate for the institution, that the college lost thereby, for many years, the sympathy and support of the state, that it placed itself in the position of an institution existing in defiance of popular will and above popular authority. It has even been asserted that the college, at this point, lost the great opportunity of becoming the first of that series of state universities which, in recent years, have attained such a position of dominance in the educational system of the land. Of course it is impossible to say what would have been the result had the state prevailed, and in that impossibility lies abundant opportunity for unchecked speculation. Some kind of an educational enterprise would have survived, and the probability is that Dartmouth University would have become a strong and vigorous institution. It must be remembered, however, that the act of 1816 did not really create a state university. Under it, the authority of the legislature went far enough to authorize that body to meddle with the internal affairs of the college, but not far enough to bring home to legislators a sense of responsibility for its support. Upon this point the experience of Bowdoin, in the years following the decision at Washington, is illuminating. That institution had put itself under protection of the state. While legislative grants were secured from time to time, the most striking action of the Maine legislature in relation to the college was the enactment of a law which had as its intent, although by indirection, the arbitrary removal of the president of the college, who was unpopular with the legislative majority—a purpose which, for a time at least, was realized. It is a curious example of the irony of fate that the man thus removed was William Allen, ex-president of Dartmouth University, and that, in the legal action which was successful in restoring him to power, he was compelled to utilize the principles urged at this time by the trustees of Dartmouth College; principles which he, as president of Dartmouth University, had so bitterly opposed.

Probably in the early days the legislature of New Hampshire would have acted very much as did that of Maine. It is very likely that supplies would have been voted from time to time, but they would have been irregular and uncertain. There was every chance of undue interference in the management of the institution and disputes arising in it would surely have been carried to the political arena for discussion and settlement. At all times the authorities of the college would, perforce, have kept a wary eye on political developments and would have been obliged to acquire practical skill and adroitness in the conciliation of political parties. As time went on and as requests for appropriations multiplied, a demand for a more complete measure of state control unquestionably would have arisen. If that had been attained, probably the inflow of income from the state would have become more satisfactory, but the institution would have acquired thereby a purely local significance, the interest in it of persons foreign to the state would have tended to become less, and it would have been considered in the minds of all solely as a New Hampshire institution. At the same time the very name of University and the pressure of various interests in the state for recognition would have led to expansion of its field and the introduction into it of allied schools; institutions perhaps not to be managed with entire success in a situation geographically so remote from large centers as is Hanover. Thus, while under these conditions it might now be an efficient institution, an institution regarded by its sons (and daughters?) with a high degree of pride, it would not be the Dartmouth of today. That college is the direct outcome of the decision of John Marshall. And those who regard Dartmouth in its present form as an institution which has justified and is justifying its existence echo with heartfelt feeling the words of Joseph Hopkinson, written to President Brown on the day of the fateful decision, "I would have an inscription over the door of your building, 'Founded by Eleazar Wheelock, Refounded by Daniel Webster.' "



CHAPTER VIII

Depression and Recovery

LET us now retrace our steps in order to discuss the internal condition of the college during the years of political agitation and legal controversy which have just been described. Upon John Wheelock's deposition, the trustees considered themselves fortunate in being able to secure for the presidency the Reverend Francis Brown, a graduate of the college in the class of 1805. We have already seen that he served as tutor from 1806 to 1809, a post of much difficulty which he filled with unusual success, that he subsequently became pastor of a church at Yarmouth, Maine, and that in 1810 he had declined to leave his ministerial calling to become Professor of Languages. In the crisis confronting the institution, the majority of the trustees turned to him with one mind. The letter from Charles Marsh pressing the offer upon the president-elect is of interest as showing the perturbation under which the board was then laboring:

We have gone thro' a great trial in the removal of president Wheelock from Office. I hope and believe we have acted from a sense of duty and from a belief that the interests of the college demanded it from our hands and could in no other way be saved from absolute ruin. From the encouragement reported to have been given by you to us thro' Dr. McFarland we have ventured to elect you to be his successor. The board (that is, our eight) was unanimous in the choice and no one desired any other man. We also had the entire approbation of the remaining executive officers, and even some of

the president's friends have approved the choice. Now, my dear friend, should you disappoint us, we shall be thrown into a state of absolute despair, and the College, I believe, must sink. But I will not indulge the thought. I think no council can hesitate to advise your acceptance who properly understands our critical situation. Should the president prevail against us, I have no doubt that the college will be converted into a seminary of Socinianism. The hearts of all the faithful here in this quarter would, in such case, faint. I am sure that my friend and his advisers will look carefully into the subject and see with anxiety how the interests of Zion will be affected, before they will send our messengers away empty.

The tone of this letter gives some color to the charge that the objection to John Wheelock was based, in part, upon questions of religion. On the other hand, it may be noted that Francis Brown was not a follower of the Hopkinsian form of Congregationalism, the leaders of which were accused of plotting to gain control of the college. The council summoned by the church of the president-elect in Maine assented to the request for his dismissal, despite the reluctance of his flock to lose its minister. The new president came at once to Hanover and was installed in office by a simple ceremony at the end of September, 1815.

At this time President Brown was thirty-one years of age, in the prime of a vigorous manhood. He was entering upon a task which in five years was to bring him to the grave. The impression made by his striking personality upon the undergraduate body of his time may be gathered from an estimate of one of them, John Aiken, 1819, read thirty-six years later at a meeting of the Alumni Association in 1855:

In person Pres. Brown was singularly dignified and commanding, one of noblest specimens of manhood that my eyes ever beheld. And yet his dignity sat upon him so gracefully that the beholder discovered at once that it was but one of the natural properties of the outer man, and no exaggerated exponent of the dignity of the inner. His large full blue eyes and genial beaming face invited confidence, yet his whole expression was so sagacious and so penetrating that no student ever dreamed of deceiving him, or pre-

sumed on unbecoming familiarity with him. When the occasion required he could be severe, terribly severe. This severity, however, had nothing of personal anger in it, but savored rather of grief and wounded love. To govern young men was his natural and easy work. The language of command he never or seldom used. A wish or request, expressed in the mildest and kindest form, was fully equivalent to a command. We all took delight in pleasing him, for we both loved and honored him.

His talent for teaching was not inferior to his talent for government, and this talent found occasion for abundant exercise. During his whole administration, the entire instruction of the senior class devolved on him, and from the end of his first year until his health began to fail, he heard the junior or sophomore class one recitation each day. For all these recitations he carefully prepared himself, so that no slipshod preparation on the part of the student should escape unexposed. If a topic should be started or a book referred to, with which the President was not familiar, he would, by sagacious questioning, draw out what the student knew of that topic or book, and then, by his sharper analysis, his keener or more penetrating insight or his powers of broader generalization, he was prepared to discuss the subject in a way that satisfied the student, who furnished all the material, that the President understood the matter much better than he did himself. The mind of President Brown was eminently sagacious and comprehensive as well as discriminating.

The hazardous situation of the college brought upon the "executive authority," or faculty, a burden difficult to bear, and the greater part of the weight was upon the president. The embarrassed state of finances did not permit the appointment of a successor to Professor Moore, who had resigned in 1815, and the professorship of languages remained vacant during the period, the duties being divided among the remaining members of the teaching staff. Money had to be provided, not only for the ordinary expenses of the college, but for the long-drawn-out and costly litigation. The trustees did their full duty and some of them, particularly Charles Marsh, devoted an amount of time and thought to the college and its troubles which was surprisingly large, but all of them were persons with

other interests, most of them men of limited means with a living of their own to provide, and it could not be expected that they would turn their main attention to college affairs. The brunt fell on President Brown. It was for him to formulate plans of campaign, and for him, ably assisted by Professors Shurtleff and Adams, to collect the funds by which those plans should be carried out. It was requisite that the College side of the contention should be properly managed; that a comprehensive plan of action should be instituted and followed; that the various details should be knit into a coherent whole; that the campaign should be carried on in such a way that the strength of the College case might be put forth with the maximum effect. In such efforts the trustees were of great service; the legal acumen and obstinate pertinacity of Charles Marsh were of the highest value, as were similar contributions from Thomas Thompson and Nathaniel Niles, but the center of the movement was, of necessity, the president. Very ably did he do the necessary work. Although he had no legal training, Jeremiah Mason said of him that he understood the aspects of the College case so thoroughly that he could have argued it in court with eminent ability. He was the co-ordinating force which guided and directed the whole. Moreover, whatever risk may have existed in the defiance of the penal act of December, 1817, was incurred, in the main, by the president and the professors. It was against them that action would be directed, if action should be taken at all. So it was no position of ease and comfort that President Brown occupied during his term of office. In the midst of the controversy an opportunity came to him honorably to escape the perplexing difficulties by which he was surrounded. In the early part of 1817 he was offered the presidency of Hamilton College, a position yielding nearly double the salary which Dartmouth could pay; one, moreover, which was safe and assured, with nothing of the state of warfare and lack of security about it to which his tenure at Dartmouth was exposed. By this offer the trustees were thrown into a state of great perplexity. With the departure of President Brown their cause was lost; on the other hand, what could they offer him which would in any way serve to counterbalance the attractiveness of the position to which he was called? Marsh wrote that

he had no doubt the president would follow his sense of duty in the matter, and continued:

I will only ask you to take into consideration the position that with your abandonment will expire the remaining hopes of the friends of Dartmouth College. I do not know that this should deter you, as our prospects are already too much clouded; they are, however, not such that I am prepared to abandon the interests of the college, tho' I am much perplexed to know what measures to adopt in order to promote them.

Brown's "sense of duty" prevailed and he remained at his post, with the stipulation, however, that the trustees should push the case to the last possible resort, a stipulation to which the members of the board "cheerfully assented." By that decision he won the case for the College.

In the early years of the controversy the internal affairs of the institution were but little affected by the dissensions which were raging without. The College carried on its recitations and other exercises in the usual way. It was not until the University was definitely organized in February, 1817, that the war was really brought home to the student body in Hanover. The buildings of the institution were seized by the University officers on March 1 and 2. On March 10 the following item appeared in the *Dartmouth Gazette*, the local paper, which was devoted to the College interest:

Dartmouth University commenced operations on Wednesday evening last. Prayers were attended at that time by the Rev. Vice President Allen, Prof. Dean, Dr. Cyrus Perkins, Col. James Poole, and one other inhabitant of this place, a stranger accidentally here, and one lately a member of the Senior Class of Dartmouth College, making seven in the whole. The bell has continued to ring morning and evening since that time, but we are assured that the numbers of the university have been continually decreasing. We leave the mathematical question which rises from this view of the subject to be solved by our readers.

The *Gazette* cannot be regarded as an impartial authority, but it is nevertheless true that, from the point of view of attendance, the

inauguration of the University was hardly as spectacular as might have been wished. From this time, for two years, the two institutions operated side by side, the University having possession of all the buildings, and the College, its classes meeting in outside quarters, having most of the students. In 1817 the former awarded degrees to seven graduates, the latter to forty. At the beginning of the year 1817-18, ninety-five members were enrolled in the College, twenty-six of whom had entered the two lower classes since Commencement. This enrollment was a decided decrease from the average of 140-150 which had prevailed for many years, but a decline was to be expected in view of the conflict which was raging at the time. On the other hand, the best that the University could do was to muster fourteen students; only four of whom, all from outside New Hampshire, were in the two lower classes. Jeremiah Mason had some justification for saying that "the boys will settle it themselves." While student numbers in the University were disappointingly small, the trustees of that institution went blithely ahead in the formulation of plans for a noble educational enterprise. At a meeting held in June, 1818, despite the fact that no money was available, a detailed scheme of organization was adopted. At the center of the University was to be the College, with four professors at the time but with two more to be added "as soon as funds are available." Around this nucleus were to be grouped such branches as a College of Theology with three professors, a College of Medicine with five professors, and a College of Law with three professors. All this expansion, however, was far in the future. In June, 1817, the board had elected the Reverend Thomas Coleman Searles to the professorship of Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics, so that, to provide for their student body of fourteen, they had four teachers (Allen, Dean, Carter and Searles), while the College during this period had three professors (Brown, Adams and Shurtleff) and either one or two tutors.

In general, the relations between the two institutions were not inharmonious. Nathan Crosby, 1820, thus described the situation in Hanover:

The two institutions moved on quite harmoniously. The scholars remained friendly, and the officers were mutually respectful. Both presidents were remarkable for genial dispositions and courteous manners, noble Christian gentlemen, and were fully impressed with the sharp and serious conflict before them. We all followed the one bell, and for two long years a hundred or more students were crossing the plain, at every ringing of the bell, to their chapel and various recitation rooms, while a dozen university students were crossing our paths in other directions, giving ample opportunity to crack a joke and chaff each other.

Despite this commendable restraint, there was an atmosphere of tension about the town which affected all connected with the two institutions. The students were keen partisans and their interest in the quarrel disturbed, to some extent, the smooth flow ordinarily characteristic of academic life. Thus Rufus Choate wrote to his brother in November, 1817:

In the mean time the most unhappy circumstance attending it is that such a state of [blot] necessarily discomposes the mind and unfits it for steady & quiet reflection so indispensable to [blot] in science.

That more open breaks did not take place is creditable to both the parties concerned. However, occasional instances of friction did occur. Some of them were more amusing than serious. It was the custom of the sophomore class to publish a broadside containing a list of the officers and students of the institution, the substitute for the annual catalogue of today. In 1817-18, in addition to the usual publication for the College, the sophomore class of that institution issued a perfectly correct catalogue for the University. Its small size and the limited number of students listed (twelve, of whom four were marked as absent) were intended to bring ridicule upon the new institution without any deviation from the truth, and the publication succeeded admirably in that object. It was considered of great importance that Hanover should be represented in the legislature by men favorable to the College interest. Students were therefore encouraged to register in the town and to vote—not a far-

sighted policy on the part of those who gave the encouragement. The opposite faction saw to it that these voting students should be called upon to perform the military duties required of every able-bodied citizen. Summoned to "appear at East Hanover, armed and equipped according to law" for a military muster, the students in question responded with alacrity, and, by their extreme stupidity in responding to orders and by the skill with which that stupidity was managed to cause the maximum of confusion, soon brought the maneuvers into such a tangle that the "training" had to be adjourned. Likewise summoned to work out their taxes by labor on the roads, each victim brought five of his friends, so that the twelve-hour period of work was reduced to two, but the labor is said to have been honestly done. On one occasion the University superintendent of buildings was ill-advised enough to enter suit against a student named Cutler, who had charge of the bell, and who was accused of having carried away the bell-rope when the buildings had been taken over by the University. The hearing revealed the fact that the bell-rope had been removed as charged, that its value was forty-two cents and that it was the personal property of Cutler, who had bought it himself to replace a rope that was no longer serviceable. The magistrate dismissed the charge in disgust and the suit brought much ridicule upon those who had instituted it.

Two incidents, however, were more serious, and a real conflict was avoided only by the good sense eventually used by all concerned. In 1817 the Commencement exercises of the two institutions were scheduled for the same time and, of course, at the same place, the College Church. Much excitement prevailed in the community and various extravagant rumors were circulated concerning the possible actions of the contending factions. It was even asserted that the University leaders had made arrangements to call out the state militia and by its aid to hold the building by force. The College students, however, anticipated their rivals by taking possession of the church upon the day preceding Commencement. They barricaded themselves in the structure, provided ammunition in the belfry and windows in the form of stones and other missiles, gathered a plentiful supply of canes and clubs, and awaited developments. The University party, thus anticipated, gave up the contest

with reasonably good grace, and retired to the chapel (quite large enough to accommodate any audience which they could expect to attract) for their Commencement exercises. In 1818, after vainly attempting to make satisfactory arrangements for the use of the church by both parties upon Commencement day, the College trustees voted to hold their exercises on the week preceding the regular date and thus to avoid danger of collision. Even this conciliatory attitude was not received in all quarters with the approbation which it merited. The Reverend Elijah Parish, in particular, considered the action to be due to President Brown's "low cunning" and its purpose to show by comparison of the two Commencements the difference in popularity between the College and the University. To counteract this nefarious plot Parish advised Governor Plumer to appear in Hanover "with an escort of cavalry," so that the University Commencement might be celebrated with proper dignity. The governor had too much sense to follow that advice, and as a matter of fact, did not come to Hanover at all. We have no information as to how successful the festivities actually were.

The most serious collision during the period was the consequence of an attempt on the part of the University in November, 1817, to take possession of the Society libraries. It will be remembered that these collections, now numbering some two thousand volumes each, constituted the main reliance, both of teachers and students, for books. Their ownership by the Societies was undisputed, but they were housed in the college building and were used by students of both institutions. The Societies were evidently somewhat perturbed by the fact that their collections were located in a structure now under control of the University and, as a result, they proceeded to pack the books in trunks and boxes and began quietly to remove them to rooms under their own jurisdiction. The University faculty, learning of the transfer on November 11, at once appointed Harry Hutchinson inspector of buildings and gave to him instructions to take immediate possession of the library rooms. That evening Hutchinson, organizing a posse consisting of himself, Professors Carter and Dean and a number of townspeople of good courage and muscular force, sallied forth to perform the task. The party first attacked the room of the Social Friends, the door of which was

found to be too stout to be kicked in or otherwise forced. An axe was produced and a hole chopped in the door, through which the members of the party made their way, finding that most of the books were gone while the remainder were packed ready for removal. By this time the whole student body had been aroused by the noise which the violent entry had caused. The members of the United Fraternity, who were holding a meeting in the Society room in the building, rushed from the hall shouting, "Turn out, Social Friends, your library is broken open." Soon the corridor was filled with students, all of them angry at the invasion of their private domain. It seemed that a serious contest could hardly be avoided. The attacking party, now inside the room, were guarding the opening in the door with upraised axes, threatening with destruction any who should enter. They could protect themselves from attack through this narrow hole, but their retreat was cut off by a horde of students in the corridor, armed with sticks of cordwood hastily picked up from a convenient pile. Despite their strategic position for defense, the invaders had little courage for a fight in which they would be so largely outnumbered. One, a shoemaker, was heard to confide to an associate, "It appears to me we are in a cursed poor scrape. I had rather be in a nest of hornets than among these college boys when they get mad and roused up." Professor Carter, after observing that he had \$15 invested in the library (he was a member of the Social Friends) and that he wanted his share of it, finally admitted that he had got in a bad scrape and would be glad to be extricated from it. Finally, the odds against the University party being too great, counsels of peace prevailed. The attacking party agreed to yield and were led to an adjoining room where they were guarded until the remaining books could be removed. In the meantime, the United Fraternity had hastily completed the transfer of its library. The professors of the University and Hutchinson were then politely released (Professor Carter, having shown some timidity at venturing out alone, even being escorted to his room) while the less distinguished members of the group were compelled to walk under crossed clubs held by two lines of victorious students. So the *melée* terminated without a blow being struck on either side.

The attempted seizure of the books was made a subject of further contention. On November 12 a statement, signed by President Allen, was issued in the form of a handbill widely distributed through the state, although no circulation was given to it in the vicinity of Hanover. The version of the controversy presented by the University president was not characterized by complete candor. He said that, since the decision by the Superior Court of New Hampshire in favor of the University, "apprehension was felt that pupils under the private instruction of Messrs. Brown, Shurtleff and Adams would carry off the books." To avoid this improper disposal of the Society libraries, the inspector and professors were instructed to secure the doors. Upon attempting to do this, the party was "immediately assailed by a formidable number of the youths above mentioned, armed with clubs, and after being compelled into another room were there for a considerable time forcibly detained." It was promised in the communication that the conduct of the students should be made the "subject of judicial inquiry." Each of the Societies answered this charge with a statement of its side of the case. They called attention to the fact that the "students under the private instruction of Mr. Brown" numbered three-quarters of the active members of the Societies, they asserted that the removal of the books from a University building had been planned by them in order to conserve the libraries for the use of all the members, that the great majority of those members had approved the action and had assisted in carrying it out, and that the libraries were now available to all members for their ordinary use in the rooms to which they had been removed.

As threatened by President Allen, legal proceedings were at once instituted. Nine of the students (including Rufus Choate) were arrested on the charge of riot and were taken before John Durkee, a Democratic magistrate in the eastern part of the town. By him they were bound over in \$150 each to the Grand Jury at its May term in Haverhill. At once, upon complaint of a student, Professors Dean and Carter, Inspector of Buildings Hutchinson, and a number of other members of the invading party were likewise arrested and after a long hearing before Justice James Wheelock, who was assisted by two associates from Lebanon, were also bound

over to the same court under similar bonds. By May, however, the feelings of both parties had cooled and no one was eager to press the matter. The Grand Jury brought the dispute to a close by reporting no bill against all the defendants.

The controversy, for a time, was the subject of acrimonious newspaper dispute. Every one was convinced that a very lawless act had been committed, but entire disagreement was manifest as to which of the parties occupied the position of the lawbreaker. The Democratic press generally held that the students were the culprits and asserted that such action was surely to be expected from youths instructed by men who were holding their own positions in defiance of the law. The other side maintained that the University officials had no more right to break into the Society libraries and take their books than they had to break into the students' rooms and steal their clothes. Looked at from this distance it seems that the University leaders maneuvered themselves into a thoroughly untenable position and one damaging to their prestige. The College faculty (on the surface, at any rate) took no part in the quarrel, leaving the controversy entirely to the undergraduate members of the Societies.

Two occurrences during the period had the temporary effect of bringing the two parties together. The first was the death on April 4, 1817, of the central figure of the controversy, President John Wheelock. Unquestionably his end was hastened by the severe struggles of his later years, but he died a happy man, content in the assurance that his long contest had been won, that he was once more in the seat of his father, that the succession had been secured to the Wheelock dynasty, and that no fear was justly to be entertained of the outcome of the impending struggle in the courts. As soon as his death was announced by the tolling of the bell, all exercises, both in College and University, were brought to a close. In its issue of April 9 the *Dartmouth Gazette* gave the following account of his funeral:

The remains of the late President Wheelock were interred yesterday with every possible mark of respect. The procession, composed of citizens from this and the neighboring towns, was larger than we

have ever known in this place. After an appropriate prayer by the Rev. Mr. Town at the late residence of Dr. Wheelock, the procession moved to the meeting house, where a very solemn and impressive discourse was delivered to a numerous audience by the Rev. Mr. Sutherland of Bath.

His will revealed the fact that the vague promises of help to the college, which he had been in the habit of making through life, were based on honest intent. In addition to the gift of February 17, already described (estimated by him to amount to \$20,000), he bequeathed to the University three lots of land in Hanover with the buildings upon them, 745 acres of land in Hanover and Lebanon, and large areas in Grantham in New Hampshire and in Sharon, Washington, and Sterling, in Vermont. According to the provisions of the will, the income of this endowment was to be used to provide salaries for the Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy and the Professor of the Languages. The gift was conditioned, however, upon the maintenance of the organization of the institution in its University form. If the College should prevail in the courts, the fund was to be transferred to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, to be employed for the benefit of the Princeton Theological Seminary.

On July 23, 1817, the village was honored by a visit from President Monroe, who was celebrating his accession to the highest office by a tour through the northern part of the country. The chief magistrate, having left Concord early in the morning, arrived at Hanover at six in the afternoon. Dismounting from his coach, he made his entry on horseback over the road "shrouded with dust." He found awaiting him a company of light infantry and was also greeted by a thunderous salute from a company of artillery. Near the meeting house he left his horse and proceeded on foot through a line reaching across the green, composed of the "officers and students of the Literary Institution, Rev. Clergy, private citizens, among whom there were several strangers of distinction and a beautiful group of young misses and masters fancifully ornamented with garlands of evergreen and roses." Shortly after entering the Dartmouth Hotel, which was "elegantly decorated," he made his

appearance on the balcony where an address was read to him by Colonel Amos Brewster. To this welcome he replied "very cordially and at some length." In the evening, after calling at the residence of Mills Olcott, he attended a party at Mrs. Allen's. Later in the evening, with admirable impartiality, he called upon Mrs. Brown, where he was received in "elegant style" and passed the evening "in cheerfulness and conviviality, heightened by music suited to the occasion." Refreshed, let us hope, by a good night's rest, the fifty-nine-year-old president started at seven the following morning for the continuation of his journey, with the prospect before him of encountering a similar round of hospitality in the towns of Vermont. Not until the administration of President Taft, more than ninety years later, did another president venture to enter the bounds of Hanover during his term of service.

The finances of the competing institutions remained in a highly embarrassed state during the whole course of the litigation. Early in the contest, the authorities of each notified those who held college land on lease that no rents should be paid to the agents of the other party. No difficulty was experienced in enforcing this edict. The tenants welcomed the Dartmouth College Case as a pleasing dispensation of Providence and cheerfully obeyed both parties by paying no rents at all—a practice which they were loath to abandon when the controversy was over. As practically the whole of the endowment of the institution was in the form of leased lands, all income from that source was suspended. Student attendance in the College was still considerable, so that some money was available from tuition fees for the payment of the teaching force, but it was much reduced from receipts in previous years and, as a result, the professors were seriously cramped for ready money. For the expenses of litigation, at first no resources at all were at hand. It is doubtful if even a beginning could have been made had it not been for a donation from an entirely unexpected quarter. At the Commencement of 1816, when the trustees were gloomily considering the problem of resistance in the courts with no resources for meeting the expenses of litigation, a hint was brought to them that interest of a substantial nature had been aroused in a person who had never been considered as a possible benefactor. Investigation of

this clue resulted in the receipt of the following letter, signed by "A Citizen of New Hampshire."

Considering that from science and literature emanate the most rational enjoyments of social life, that these have ameliorated the condition of man and have raised him from barbarity and degradation to all the endearments of social intercourse, I have viewed with pleasure the gradual rise of your respected seminary. Under your auspices it has flourished and under them, I trust, it will continue to flourish, though for a time power may contribute with party for its destruction. Yet it seems one of those instances in which good is educed from evil. Having learned that the funds have in some instances been withheld from the legitimate authorities, I feel it a duty to afford you this assistance. Accept, therefore, Gentlemen, this donation not as the effect of personal friendship but as something from a conviction that all mankind are morally bound to use their endeavors to support the cause of science & virtue.

The "citizen of New Hampshire" was John B. Wheeler, a merchant of Orford, whose own educational opportunities had been extremely limited, and the "assistance" was a draft for one thousand dollars. It is doubtful if any gift ever received by the college was more timely or led to more important consequences. Had it not come at the time it did, it is difficult to see how the contest could even have been entered upon. No man ever more justly deserved a similar honor than did John Wheeler when, in 1905, his memory was perpetuated by the naming for him of the dormitory called Wheeler Hall.

Much encouraged by this unexpected gift, the trustees drew up a detailed plan of campaign by which particular geographical regions were assigned to members of the board and to the executive officers for intensive appeals for funds. The trustees did what they could, but the greater part of the work fell to President Brown and to Professors Adams and Shurtleff. From 1817 to 1819 these men spent most of their time during the recesses of the College in travel through New Hampshire, Vermont and Massachusetts, soliciting aid for the institution in every promising quarter. The work was tiring and probably uncongenial, but it was reasonably successful.

The treasurer's accounts of the period have not been preserved and no direct statement of the total amount obtained can be found, but such loose records as have survived give us a general idea of the results. In 1817 President Brown reported the proceeds of one journey to have been \$765.35. Another subscription from Boston amounted to \$1375. Professor Adams reported that he had obtained collections of \$626.75, while Professor Shurtleff's amounted to \$441. There is some overlapping in the various accounts but the amount obtained must in all have been between \$3000 and \$4000. In addition, certain citizens of Hanover obligated themselves to pay for the service of counsel a total of \$6200, the money to be regarded as a loan if the College should win its case, otherwise as a gift, but it is evident that, in the end, no part of this subscription was required. One source of aid which, in advance, had been regarded by the trustees as promising did not prove to be productive. It was clear that the College cause was the cause not alone of Dartmouth, but of every eleemosynary institution in the land, and the trustees innocently believed its sister colleges might be disposed to bring to its defense aid of a monetary nature. An attempt to interest the authorities of the Andover Theological Seminary revealed the surprising fact that in some quarters the appeal of the College to the Supreme Court of the United States was regarded as highly unfortunate. A decision of the court of New Hampshire, it was said, would affect Dartmouth alone, but a fiat from the highest federal tribunal would have an authority nation-wide in its application and the status of institutions untouched by the decision of the former court might be seriously injured by an unfavorable judgment from the higher one. Andover would not contribute, nor would Harvard, when discreetly sounded, nor would Yale, when a direct appeal for aid was made to its corporation, although all these institutions were much interested in the controversy and extremely generous in their expressions of sympathy. An application to the Princeton Theological Seminary must be regarded as an indication of some lack of delicacy on the part of the trustees. That institution would not only profit indirectly, as would all others, by a favorable outcome of the case, but very directly from falling heir to the Wheelock bequest. The good taste of the Princeton authorities was equal to the strain thus

imposed upon it and they refused to advance financial support, although their sympathy for the College was, perhaps, more thoroughly sincere than that of the ruling powers of any of the sister institutions. But the failure to obtain financial aid from such sources was not of serious importance. Enough was raised from friends of the College adequately to care for the expenses of litigation.

Counsel fees in that period seem to us to have been extremely moderate, although, no doubt, they bore no such aspect to the distressed College. For services in the hearing before the New Hampshire court Jeremiah Smith received \$180, Jeremiah Mason, \$100, and Daniel Webster, \$50. The arrangement with Webster respecting the appeal in Washington provided for a payment to him of \$1000, out of which he was to provide for his associate counsel. As a matter of fact, however, Webster received the whole amount and Hopkinson was paid \$500 in addition. Webster's charge was thus twice that of any other lawyer on either side, but there has never been any protest that he did not fully earn his fee. The total cost of the litigation to the College is stated to have been over \$6000, but this estimate is not based on detailed figures.

The financial plight of the University was considerably worse. Its income from all ordinary sources was negligible and no one was available to whom the institution could turn for gifts, except, as a last resort, to the state. The amount which it received from its students for tuition fees amounted in two years to \$297.32, although a small sum, in addition, was due from them upon notes. The Wheelock bequest would have yielded about \$1000 a year, but, as this money reverted to others upon the failure of the University cause, nothing was ever actually received from it. The payment of counsel was a troublesome problem. Sullivan and Bartlett each received \$100 for his appearance at Exeter, while the amount paid to Holmes is not known. Salma Hale had engaged the services of Wirt on his own responsibility, and when the time for payment came, which, as Wirt mildly but firmly insisted, was immediately following his plea, Hale was in much perplexity as to the source from which the money should be derived. He finally secured \$300, (an amount which Wirt set as his minimum charge, with a hint that \$500 was more appropriate) as a loan from the New Hampshire delegation in

Congress and from General E. W. Ripley. The position of the University faculty was not pleasant, as no resource seemed to be available from which their salaries could be paid. However, in June, 1818, the legislature came to the rescue with an appropriation of \$4000 of the public funds, to be regarded as a loan payable when the income of the funds of the institution should become available to it as a result of the favorable decision of the court, shortly to be expected. Needless to say, this loan was never paid. From this appropriation the expenses of litigation, including a fee of \$350 for the abortive efforts of Pinkney, were paid in full, and a sufficient amount was advanced to the professors to keep them from actual starvation.

The long periods of suspense, while the case was making its way from one stage to another in the courts, were rather accentuated than the opposite by the various decisions which, from time to time, were confidently expected or actually announced. As a result of these decisions one party was momentarily elated and the other depressed, but both relapsed into a state of uncertainty as the legal action was advanced to another stage. The College leaders were highly confident as a result of the pleas at Exeter. President Brown, Professor Adams, and Treasurer Olcott were in attendance, at the hearing and so were a number of the undergraduates (including Rufus Choate). To their minds the arguments of the College counsel were so convincing as to make highly improbable an adverse decision. Accordingly, they were extremely depressed by the unfavorable verdict of the New Hampshire court. Choate wrote to his brother on November 8, 1817:

I cannot help, while my feelings are yet excited, sitting down to tell you how our expectations are all blasted by the decision of the New Hampshire judges. You have perhaps before this time been made acquainted with the result so that it will scarcely be news by now to be informed that they have given unqualified sentence in favor of the act which established Dart. University and thus been the cause of all our difficulty. In consequence of that most unheard-of decision, the Trustees have appealed to the Supreme Court of the U. States as a last (and I am almost inclined to say a precarious)

resort. We shall, of course, have another year pass more disagreeable (if possible) than the last.

The optimism of the University leaders was, of course, correspondingly increased by this decision. They awaited the hearing in Washington with complete confidence and were sure that the Supreme Court, as soon as the case came before it, would render a decision in their favor. In its issue of March 25, 1818, the *Dartmouth Gazette* contained the following item:

On Saturday evening last the University gentry prepared themselves, on the arrival of the mail, to greet the expected News from Washington. We learn that the old French six-pounder was to be loaded for the purpose, and everything ripe for a fine frolick in true University style. The Mail arrived—and lo! the information received occasioned the tolling of the University bell.

Probably this description is somewhat overdrawn, but there is no doubt that the University authorities were sincerely astonished at the division in the court and at the resulting postponement of settlement for another year. The delay made them much less confident of the outcome than they had been before. Moreover, Governor Plumer, while still as active as ever in the University cause, was losing some of his primal enthusiasm for the new institution. Of all the men who participated in the struggle, he was the only one to hold independent and (for the times) radical opinions upon educational theory and methods, and the only one who hoped to see real educational advance result from the controversy. He was now convinced that those who were in charge of the new institution were as devoted to the traditional system and as conservative in their outlook as were the College leaders. In December, 1818, he expressed his disappointment to Salma Hale in the following terms:

I believe you have heard me several times express a preference to the living over the dead languages, and regret that our literary institutions should so effectually devote their time and that of their scholars to Greek and Hebrew as almost totally to neglect that of French, German and Spanish. Their course has too much of a monkish spirit for my taste or for the public interest. Our universities,

colleges and academies are better fitted for priests than for statesmen or useful active citizens. Should the university in which we are interested succeed in her controversies, I shall expect but little from her. She appears to be following the old tradition and more anxious to please the priesthood than to pursue a manly and expedient course to fit men for the business and duties of this world.

Word of the final decision of the Supreme Court reached Hanover early in February, 1819, during the absence of the students upon their winter vacation. The reception of the news is thus described by Rufus Choate:

People in Hanover, you may easily enough conceive, were all on fire with the news of the triumph of the College. When it reached here (before I came on) the bells were rung, cannon fired, bonfires lighted up and a thousand other unseemly demonstrations of joy exhibited, not especially creditable to the raffle that did it or the great men that gave permission, but we are all still at present.

Old Judge Niles, at his home in West Fairlee, heard the rumble of distant cannon, and, feeling that the College would never celebrate a victory in such unseemly fashion, concluded that the decision had been in favor of the University. He wrote to President Brown a long letter of condolence, recommending resignation to the will of God; then, having obtained information of the real state of affairs, completed the communication with an unconsciously amusing postscript in which joy at the decision was mingled with condemnation of the uproar with which it was greeted in Hanover. If blame is to be assigned to anyone for overexuberance of enthusiasm, it probably should go to the populace of the village rather than to the officials of the institution. The community had stood staunchly by the College from the start.

Upon receipt of the news, President Brown made an immediate demand on President Allen for the keys to the college buildings. His request having been refused, entry was made by force, in accordance with the precedent set by the opposite party two years before. On March 1, 1819, President Allen issued a notice informing the public that from that date the exercises of the University

would be suspended. All the members of the teaching staff, except himself, left Hanover at once, while about half the students of the moribund institution entered the College, every facility being afforded for easy transfer. After the dismissal of the supplementary cases in May, the records, seal, charter and other papers were turned over to the trustees by Mrs. Eliza Woodward, executrix of the estate of the late treasurer, William H. Woodward (who had died on August 9, 1818), and this transfer, accepted, by agreement, in lieu of damages, closed the long process of litigation.

The Commencement of 1819 was a happy occasion. Daniel Webster was present to enjoy the plaudits of his friends, while the exercises themselves were marked by a dramatic valedictory address by Rufus Choate, afterwards to become one of Webster's most effective opponents at the bar and among the warmest of his personal friends. The trustees, "recognizing the inadequacy of any pecuniary recompense" to the college counsel, Mason, Smith, Hopkinson and Webster, requested them to sit for their portraits and the treasurer was directed to pay the bill and to provide suitable frames. Nothing was done about the matter for the time, however, but twelve years later the portraits were secured to the college through the beneficence of Dr. George C. Shattuck, 1803. They are still in the possession of the institution.

This scene of rejoicing, however, was not without a deep tinge of gloom. It was all too evident that the young president, who had appeared in Hanover in the strength of his manly vigor only four years before, was now in the grasp of the most dreaded malady of the times. Early in the year the trustees had become disturbed by his declining health, and now there was no question as to the seriousness of his physical state. In accordance with the medical judgment of the day that tuberculosis should be treated by change of air and scene, travel was determined upon as the most effective remedy. His friends, aroused by his condition, subscribed \$900 to pay for the treatment which he manifestly required. On October 11, 1819, accompanied by Mrs. Brown, he set out with horse and chaise upon a trip to the South. It was a preposterous undertaking. Dr. Nathan Smith wrote to Mills Olcott from New Haven that he "was apprehensive there must have been some insanity on the part of the presi-

dent's friends in Hanover or they would not have suffered him to set out on such a forlorn hope. Those who saw him here do not think he will reach South Carolina." Nevertheless he kept on. The wife set down the incidents of the journey in a diary which still survives, a pathetic record of alternating hopes and fears. Slowly they made their way through Philadelphia and Washington to Richmond, then to Columbia in South Carolina where they remained for over a month. Then on to Augusta and to Savannah in Georgia and then back to Charleston where another stay of some length was made. Heat and cold, good weather and bad, well-built roads and those that were not built at all, fog, swollen streams, nights spent in squalid taverns, nights spent as guests of hospitable colleagues, the penetrating dampness of the Southern winter—all were the lot of the man now in the final stages of disease. On April 21, 1820, the wanderers started on their return, the president becoming weaker from day to day. The last stage of the journey nearly became the last of his life. Exhausted by the extreme heat, he was obliged to remain over night in Lebanon, only five miles from the home he longed to reach. On the next day, June 22, he was in Hanover once again. The students had planned a demonstration of welcome, but, "though he was affected to tears he declined the honor, saying that he had need of pallbearers rather than a triumphal procession and was coming to his home prepared to die." He mustered sufficient strength to meet the senior class, to thank them for their steady support during the difficult days of his presidency, and to advise them as to their future. Sixty-nine years later a member of that class, Judge George W. Nesmith, recalled the words of the president with deep emotion as a voice from the grave. The junior class he also met, but he could do no more. On July 27, 1820, in his thirty-seventh year, he died, the last and most costly sacrifice in the struggle which had raged so long.

It was indeed highly unfortunate for the institution that at this critical period it was deprived of its leader. Although the controversy had been won by the College, its vitality had been so reduced by the struggle as to make its prospects seem almost hopeless. In 1820 the institution owed its officers, in arrears of salary, no less a sum than \$4332.10. Immediately following the decision in Wash-

ington, the heirs of John Wheelock sued the trustees for the money which, in years past, he had loaned to the college and for the arrears of salary which had so long remained unpaid. A defense was attempted, but even in the hands of Jeremiah Smith the case was hopeless and the verdict of the court awarded the Wheelock estate the sum of \$8385.84. The debts of the institution now amounted to \$16,911.13. To offset them, the accounts receivable were placed on the books as \$13,986.18. In arriving at this estimate of assets certain deductions had been made for debts that could not be collected, but it seems certain that these deductions were far from being sufficient to cover the whole extent of worthless accounts. The tenants of the college had enjoyed immunity from payment of rents so long that it was to be extremely difficult to induce them to resume such payments, to say nothing of settling accounts in arrears. The annual budget was equally unsatisfactory. The estimated income was \$5405, while the expenditures were set at \$5870, but, as was usual in such statements, the income was reckoned at a maximum which probably could not be reached and the expenditure at a minimum which probably would be exceeded. Moreover, the college buildings had been returned to the institution in a sadly dilapidated condition and were in pressing need of repair. The trustees thought they had a case against the state for losses of an indirect character resulting from interference of the legislature in college affairs. Professor Adams drew up a statement of these claims, as follows:

Loss in tuition from diminution of the three upper classes, estimated at twelve each year for four years and loss to pre- ceding classes from students transfer- ring to the university or other colleges	\$3,726.00
Loss in room rents	1,690.00
Expense in procuring philosophical appa- ratus	130.00
Fitting up chapel room, and rental	135.00
Loss of library bills	562.50
Sum needed to restore the college building	1,000.00

Damage for detention of library and apparatus	500.00
Damage for delay in payment of rents	1,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$8,743.50

Probably little hope was cherished of favorable action by the legislature and the results were discounted in advance. That body was in no mood to respond to an appeal from the institution which had triumphed over the State in the courts. In December, 1820, a committee of the House to which the memorial was referred reported that "the losses and expenses having been incurred in consequence of voluntary resistance to acts which were declared by the competent judicial authority of the State to be valid, the petitioners are not entitled to indemnity, nor can the State consent to its payment without abandoning principles on which its institutions are based." This report was accepted by the House.

More sympathy might reasonably have been expected from the legislature for the plight of the University teachers, to whom the State lay under moral, if not under strictly legal, obligations. The action of that body, however, was not such as to give countenance to those who maintained that steady support from the State could be relied upon for a college which it controlled. Of the \$4000 obtained as a loan from the legislature in 1818, \$1840 had been applied toward the payment of professorial salaries, but at the collapse of the University the institution owed President Allen \$1585.17, Professor Dean, \$723.35, Professor Carter \$403.85, Professor Searles \$500, and the estate of Treasurer Woodward \$412.41. A bill appropriating money to redeem these debts (considerably scaled down) passed both houses in December, 1820, but it was vetoed by Governor Bell, on the ground that the obligation could not be regarded as one incurred on the direct responsibility of the State. Repeated efforts in subsequent legislatures for the relief of the University faculty resulted in an appropriation of \$500 for the benefit of Professor Dean, but he was the only one among the University creditors who received any part of his claims. The treatment of Professor Searles was particularly unjust. He had been induced to

come to the institution from Maryland, five hundred miles away, and been promised a salary of \$600 a year. All that he received to cover the heavy expense of his removal and for his services of nearly a year was \$100. He died soon after, leaving his family in destitute circumstances. Professor Dean returned to the University of Vermont, whence he had come, while Professor Carter took up journalistic work in central New York. From a financial point of view, President Allen profited much from the collapse of the University. While he lost his claims for salary, he received (through his wife, as principal heir of John Wheelock) that part of the donation of the second president (estimated by him to amount to \$20,000) which, under the terms of the gift, was to revert to his estate if the University should be unable to maintain its existence. In 1820 he was called to the presidency of Bowdoin College and began an administration, marked by much contention, which lasted for eighteen years.

In this crisis in the affairs of the college the trustees were not particularly fortunate in their endeavors to secure a new president. With apparent unanimity in August, 1820, they selected for the office the Reverend Daniel Dana, 1788, who had been minister of a parish in Newburyport, Massachusetts, for twenty-six years. His salary was fixed at \$1000. After some hesitation, Dana accepted the position and came to Hanover to enter upon the work. Almost at once he found that the change from the duties of a quiet pastorate to those of a college administrator was not to his taste. His health suffered from the anxieties of his new position and he was compelled to take two successive journeys in the attempt to restore his shattered nerves. He was absent from Hanover during the greater part of the year. Feeling that his energies were not equal to the unaccustomed task, on July 4, 1821, he tendered his resignation and persisted in his determination, despite the attempts of the board to induce him to reconsider his decision. Upon leaving the college his health took a rapid turn for the better, and after an interim service as minister at Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1826 he returned to Newburyport as pastor of another church, for a term of nineteen years. He died in 1859 at the age of eighty-eight.

Upon his resignation, the trustees elected to the presidency the Reverend Gardner Spring of New York. Apparently they supposed themselves in possession of assurances that he would accept, but after a long period of delay, in which the financial condition of the institution seems to have been the most important factor in determining his decision, he finally declined the office. This action left the members of the board in a state of extreme perplexity. They could hit upon no candidate of outstanding ability who could be depended upon to look favorably upon a position so uncertain, and were much divided in the consideration of those names which were suggested. The necessity for haste was uppermost in the minds of some who feared that the college would suffer from being so long without an active head, while others were convinced that delay was necessary lest an unfortunate mistake should result from hurried action. Finally, most of the candidates, upon thorough examination of their qualifications, were eliminated from consideration through the discovery of some real or fancied weakness, and the field was eventually reduced to one, who remained in the running not so much through his own outstanding strength as from the elimination of his competitors. On February 13, 1822, the Reverend Bennett Tyler, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1804 and at the time minister at South Britain, Connecticut, was elected to the presidency of the college. He accepted the office and assumed his duties in March. Ever since the summer of 1819, when the physical disability of President Brown had made active service on his part impossible, the duties of the presidency had been performed by the senior professor, Ebenezer Adams.

President Tyler has become rather a nebulous figure in the lapse of time. It is difficult to determine exactly the nature of the influence which he exercised upon the college. It is evident that he regarded his ministerial duties very seriously and was inclined to lay much stress upon that portion of his responsibilities which was pastoral in character. The infirm health of Professor Shurtleff prevented him from preaching during the greater part of President Tyler's term, and the latter was glad to take over the work of the church, leaving to Shurtleff much of the instruction of the senior class, ordinarily the duty of the president. In the memorial volume

of the class of 1827, published in 1869, reference is made to the "fervent prayers of the pious and fatherly President Tyler" as a feature of their college life which the members of that group would never forget. On the other hand, Arthur Livermore, 1829, who lived to be the oldest alumnus of the college, writing in 1900, referred to the "rotund figure" of the president as "not uncomely," but described his mind as "in a state of nature."

If I were to say that it was vulgar, I should wish to express no more than that it had not submitted to the gentle forces exerted by letters in restraining or stimulating thought or qualifying the men to sit where parables are spoken.

He described the president as a whole-hearted follower of the counsel of Selden, who advised the preaching of "damnation, loud and long," and said that "our president did that with a relish and warmth that imitation could never have reached." This criticism, however, may have resulted from the projection of the theological atmosphere of the twentieth century back into the early nineteenth, and it does not appear that Bennett Tyler differed materially from most of the evangelical clergymen of his time. One period of his administration (1826) was marked by an active revival. Says Livermore:

The college and its environs became a scene of hortatory clamour. We were encouraged to seek council at the studies of the professors and the president and all wholesome discipline was abandoned with the sciences and the classics we had been placed there to pursue. And in the end all the functions of college life were suspended for one week by a decree of the faculty.

At the end of the year few traces could have been found of the phenomenal change which had been wrought by the "revival," and some of its features seemed in the retrospect a little silly. But it would be rash, as well as unbecoming, to assume that its influence was not in a measure salutary.

Although the president performed his duties conscientiously and with reasonable efficiency, it is doubtful if he was thoroughly happy

in his position or enjoyed the responsibilities to which a college administrator is subject.

From a financial point of view, although difficulties and embarrassments were constant, nevertheless the college managed to keep upon its feet. The trustee, Timothy Farrar, wrote to a friend in 1823 that there was nothing discouraging in college affairs

... but what relates to its funds and even that is as good as it ever was, or it does not seem to appear that they are decreasing but remain stationary; and while that is the case the officers must be content to live on small salaries, and in an economical way in point of expenditure, which perhaps may be best for a literary institution.

Arrangements were made with President Allen whereby interest was paid annually on the debt of the college to the Wheelock estate and the payment of the principal, for the time being, was not demanded. The trustees were slow in recognizing the full implications of the decision in the Dartmouth College Case, namely, that an institution not under state control should not look to the state for support. In fact, under the urge of financial necessity, successive presidents (Nathan Lord always excepted) made appeals for legislative appropriations until recent times, and it is only within the last few years that the incongruity of state grants for an institution under private management has been definitely recognized by the authorities of the college. In 1821 the treasurer, Mills Olcott, suggested that the charter should be so modified as to provide for a board of overseers, to be appointed by the governor, which should exercise such control over the action of the trustees as was contemplated by the institution of such a board in the act of 1816. If this plan were accepted by the legislature, he felt that appeals for funds might be directed to it with a clear conscience and with a reasonable chance of success. Daniel Webster, however, upon being consulted, thought that the plan was a bad one. A board of overseers, he said, would negative every important action of the trustees, but the chances were that not a cent would be obtained from the legislature as a result of the concession. His feeling was that if the college must die, it was better that it should die a natural death than be strangled by affiliation with the state. No further attempt was made to follow

this project, but, as time went on, the establishment by the legislature of a "literary fund," derived from a stamp tax on bank circulation, brought to the treasury an accumulation of money upon which the college looked with longing eyes. Despite a section in the act establishing this fund which provided that no part of it should go to an institution not under state control, applications were made to several legislatures for annual grants to the college of \$5000 from this source. Nothing came from the appeal and, as a matter of fact, it was not until 1893 that the policy of annual state grants to the college was considered favorably by the legislature. On the other hand, that body was also reluctant to set up a rival institution in New Hampshire, a policy strongly urged by the more radical opponents of the college. The expense of such an institution acted as a powerful deterrent to the favorable consideration of such a project by the economical lawmakers. With commendable good sense, William Allen, president of the defunct university, consistently opposed the establishment of rival institutions in New Hampshire where, at the time, there was obviously room for but a single college.

Moderate additions to endowment were made during President Tyler's administration. In 1822 Thomas Thompson, long a trustee, bequeathed to the institution a number of lots, including a mill site, in Bristol, New Hampshire. The amount actually obtained from this bequest cannot be determined. In 1824 the president instituted a subscription for a fund to be devoted to the "education of pious, indigent young men for the ministry." The amount asked for was \$10,000 and more than that was eventually subscribed, although the actual receipts were only about \$8000. It is interesting to observe that so determined an opponent of the institution as Isaac Hill pledged \$50 to this fund. The proceeds of the subscription made possible the first of the scholarships of the college. As shown by the treasurer's books of 1930, the fund has now increased to \$14,000, through income unexpended and applied to the principal, and through additional gifts. In 1827 another subscription was instituted to raise a fund of \$50,000, one-half to be applied to the erection of buildings, the remainder to the purchase of apparatus and the endowment of scholarships and professorships. This subscription was not completed until President Tyler's term of service

had expired, so discussion of it will be deferred to the next chapter. The trustees also endeavored to place the collection of fees upon a more businesslike basis and to do away with the accumulation of student indebtedness to the college, but their success in this endeavor was not marked. An attempt was likewise made to open the second college grant for purposes of agriculture, but the region proved to be too remote to attract any considerable number of settlers.

Student attendance, while much lessened during the period of litigation, at once came back to normal when the contest was ended; although, for a time, a tendency was manifest for New Hampshire parents of strongly Democratic leanings to send their sons to other colleges, a feeling which probably lost to the institution whatever credit there may have been in graduating New Hampshire's only occupant of the presidential chair, Franklin Pierce. In the year 1817-18 the number enrolled was but 99, while in the following year it was 109. In 1819-20 it jumped to 147 and the average from that time to 1827-28 was 154, the number rising to a maximum of 174 in 1825-26. Despite the troubles with the state authorities, the percentage of students from New Hampshire steadily increased. In 1814-15 it was 50.7%, in 1820-21, 62.3%, in 1827-28, 65%.

The first catalogue published by the college (rather than by the sophomore class) was issued in 1822. In it the curriculum is for the first time set forth in detail. It is of interest as an example of the course of study considered desirable in the liberal college of a hundred years ago.

FRESHMAN YEAR

<i>First Term</i>	<i>Second Term</i>	<i>Third Term</i>
Livy	Horace	Horace
Roman Antiquities	Roman Antiquities	Arithmetic and Algebra
Graeca Majora (Dalzel)	Homer	Hesiod
	Rhetorical Grammar	

Exercises in reading, declamation, translation and English Composition throughout the year.

SOPHOMORE YEAR

<i>First Term</i>	<i>Second Term</i>	<i>Third Term</i>
Cicero (de Oratore)	Excerpta Latina	Excerpta Latina
Euclid (six books)	Trigonometry	Euclid (remaining books)
Thucydides,	Mensuration, Gauging,	Longinus and Aristotle
Demosthenes and Lycias	Surveying, Navigation	English (Blair's Rhetoric
General History (Tytler)	Xenophon, Isocrates,	and Belles Lettres)
	Æschines	
	General History	

Composition and declamation.

JUNIOR YEAR

<i>First Term</i>	<i>Second Term</i>	<i>Third Term</i>
Tacitus	Natural Philosophy and	Natural Philosophy and
Conic Sections, Spherical	Astronomy	Astronomy
Trigonometry and	Natural Theology	Natural Theology
Geometry	(Paley)	Greek, continued
Oedipus	Euripides	Moral and Political
Chemistry		Philosophy (Paley)
Composition and declamation.		

SENIOR YEAR

<i>First Term</i>	<i>Second Term</i>	<i>Third Term</i>
Locke on the Human	Elements of Philosophy	The Federalist
Understanding	(Stewart)	
Edwards on the Will	Evidences of Christianity	
Butler's Analogy	(Paley)	
Natural and Political Law		
Dissertations, forensic disputes and declamations.		

The same catalogue gives the following estimate of expenses:

Tuition	\$26.00
Incidentals	2.40
Library	2.00
Room rent (av.)	6.00
Board (\$1.00 to \$1.75 a week) average for	
38 weeks	52.25
Wood, lights	10.00
	<hr/>
	\$98.65

In 1828 the trustees promulgated a new code of laws in which the teaching body (up to this period called the "executive authority") was for the first time termed "the faculty." The duties of the teachers were now definitely formulated, although probably a tacit understanding to the same effect had existed from the early days of the institution. It is interesting to see exactly what was expected of the professor.

The Faculty during term time will devote themselves to the duties of their respective offices, but it is particularly and earnestly requested that they take care to exercise as far as possible a parental authority over the students, that they inform themselves respecting each one's moral & literary character, and also of his connections and their expectations from him, that they avail themselves of this

information in frequent and familiar intercourse with the students at their rooms and elsewhere to administer caution and counsel and encouragement as circumstances may require to reprove every known violation of decorum, and to check every perceived tendency to negligence or dissipation however, not worthy of exemplary punishment, that they use all fit occasions to engage the common sentiment on the side of virtue, to discourage the concealment of crime, to correct feelings of false delicacy and false honour, and to fix the persuasion in every mind that the interests both of the Faculty and Students, as they are really, so ought to be affectionately and apparently identified.

In addition to the responsibilities placed upon the instructor by this sentence of astonishing length, he was enjoined to submit to the president each week a report showing the "subjects presented" by the students under his charge, their record of absence, degree of attention and proficiency "estimated by a common system of notation," absence from prayers, general moral deportment and all punishments which the instructor had seen fit to inflict. A consolidated statement, based on these reports, was to be prepared and submitted to the trustees at their annual meeting—a report to which the board probably paid scant attention. The professors were also required to attend each other's recitations "occasionally," while the president was asked to attend various class exercises "as often as he shall deem expedient."

Professors Adams and Shurtleff continued in service during the entire period under consideration, although the latter, in 1827, exchanged the chair of theology and the pastorate of the church for the professorship of moral and intellectual philosophy and political economy. In 1819 Charles Bricket Haddock, 1816, a graduate of the Andover Theological Seminary, was made Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory. His duties were to "attend to the Compositions & declamations of the Students, & instruct the two higher classes in the department of Belles Lettres." Professor Haddock (who was a nephew of Daniel Webster), was a singularly handsome man, with a graceful bearing and pleasing manner. John Willard spoke of him as "a very agreeable man and more perfectly a gentle-

man than any other of the government," while Livermore, referring to his teaching, said that "he took the department of Rhetoric to its widest limits. He taught us to *pronounce* the English language which very few of us had ever known, and in his sermons, which we occasionally heard, illustrated all the rules of constructing and of uttering English sentences." In 1820 William Chamberlain, 1818, was elected Professor of the Languages, a position which had been vacant for five years. At his request the title was changed to Professor of Latin and Greek, and he made his acceptance of the office dependent upon an appropriation by the trustees for the purchase of books for the department. John Willard termed him a "noble, sincere, open-hearted ingenuous man—has a most powerful mind but with a little dash of pedantry." He was a thorough scholar and soon seems to have become more popular with the students than any other member of the teaching staff. He added the duties of treasurer to his other work in 1826, and died prematurely in 1830. In 1823 Daniel Oliver, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1806, became Professor of Intellectual Philosophy. He was a physician and held also the professorship of theory and practice of medicine in the medical school. Willard considered him to be "the finest scholar connected with the college." The regular salary of a professor during this period remained at the point at which it had been fixed in 1811; namely \$700.

The medical faculty underwent an entire reconstruction. In 1814 Dr. Reuben D. Mussey, 1803, succeeded to some of the numerous chairs held by Nathan Smith, who had resigned in 1813 to go to Yale, and the work of the school was divided between him and Dr. Cyrus Perkins. Mussey was a skilled physician, a popular teacher and a man highly esteemed in the community, despite certain outstanding peculiarities, such as an extreme devotion to the cause of vegetarianism. He was among the pioneers of the temperance movement, then first coming to public notice. Dr. Perkins, who, alone among the teachers of the institution, attached himself to the Wheelock cause, and who had been a trustee and treasurer of the University, resigned (in 1819) when that cause was lost and spent the rest of his life as a successful physician in New York. Dr. James Freeman Dana, Harvard 1813, was Lecturer in Chemistry from 1816 to 1820,

and Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy from 1820 to 1826. He was also professor of these subjects in the academic department. Dana was a man of high scientific talents, thoroughly inspired by the research spirit. He published numerous papers upon chemical subjects and upon the new science of electro-magnetism in the scientific journals, but he did not find the atmosphere of the college favorable to investigation, and welcomed the opportunity in 1826 to transfer his activities to the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, where he became Professor of Chemistry. In 1827 he delivered a course of popular lectures on electro-magnetism before the New York Lyceum. Among his hearers was Samuel F. B. Morse, then a leading American portrait painter, who, at the time, had no particular knowledge of scientific subjects. The interest aroused in Morse by these lectures and by his conversations with Dana led to the experimental work on the part of the artist which eventually resulted in the invention of the telegraph. The death of Dana in 1827, at the age of 34, brought to a premature close a scientific career of high promise. Also among the medical instructors was Dr. Daniel Oliver, mentioned above. The school continued a prosperous existence through the period, its annual attendance averaging 77 and rising to a maximum of 104 in 1825.

From a number of sources we may obtain an idea of the student life of the period. The *Memorial of the Class of 1827*, published in 1869, contains interesting recollections of the college during the undergraduate days of the group, written by one of them, Professor Alpheus Crosby. Of the forty-eight members of the class, nine received their preparatory training at Exeter, eight at Andover, five at Pembroke (N. H.) Academy, three each at Moor's School, Kimball Union Academy, and Thetford (Vt.) Academy, two each at Fryeburg (Me.) Academy, Bradford (Mass.) Academy, and Haverhill (N. H.) Academy, while thirteen came from other schools or from the instruction of private teachers. The means of the students were small, and nearly all of them taught school during their college course. If the report may be believed, frugality, plainness of dress, freedom from expensive amusements and from dissipation characterized the undergraduates of the day. The average age was high and "a strong public sentiment in favor of good order, studiousness,

virtue and piety" prevailed. A spirit of liberalism was also in the air. In 1824 Edward Mitchell, a negro whom President Brown had brought as a servant to Hanover upon his return from the South, applied for admission to the college. The trustees, fearing objections from the undergraduates, refused to grant his request. Whereupon the students petitioned that he be admitted, and the trustees willingly yielded to their request, a hospitality to the negro race which has remained the policy of the institution to the present day. A vigorous temperance agitation, led by Dr. Mussey, sprang up in the college, where, to judge from the faculty records, it was probably much needed. An attempt was made to adopt uniform academical dress, a movement officially approved by the trustees, but it lasted no longer than was necessary to wear out the first set of uniforms. At Commencement, black silk robes, hired for the occasion, were worn by the speakers. The final examination in senior year was a "brief test" on the studies of the whole course (evidently comprehensive examinations are not entirely new in the college) and was held six weeks before Commencement, followed by the "senior vacation." The early morning recitation (before breakfast) was considered to be of great advantage in serving as "a check on evening indolence, dissipation, novel-reading and unreasonable hours." Reference is made to games of football held on the green during the noon recreation hour, to gymnastic apparatus set up by the students in 1826 behind the "College", and to cricket clubs, organized in 1827, which "covered the green" during that summer.

After a lapse of forty-two years, the writer of this account may have forgotten some of the more hectic incidents of his college days, and may have viewed the sobriety and sense of responsibility of the student body of his time in a more rosy light than they deserved. Evidence is not wanting to indicate that disturbances of a more or less serious nature were of common occurrence. Thus J. Willard (who does not appear to have been connected with the college, but was employed in a local store) wrote to his brother in August, 1824:

It is now almost commencement. Three days more will bring us to that day when the devil reigns predominant; he has come this year a week beforehand; already have the students burnt one barn,

stoned Prof. Chamberlain, burnt him & tutor Perley & hung the President in effigy, etc.

This difficulty was caused by some disciplinary measure in which the students believed one of their number to have been treated unjustly. A company called the "bear legged rangers" (the spelling is Willard's) performed the "remarkable feats above related." Two students were expelled for being involved in the scrape. Records of trouble with the medical students are frequent and references of court action in "digging up" cases are fairly common. In 1826 the treasury of the college was robbed of \$1000, but the responsibility for this crime is not to be assigned to an undergraduate.

John Willard, 1819, (not to be confused with the J. Willard just quoted), a tutor during the year 1822-23 (subsequently the founder of the Willard professorship) kept a careful diary during his service as a teacher which tells us much concerning the trials of the young instructor of his day and reveals many points of interest having to do with the daily routine of the college. Willard heard all the recitations of the sophomore class in all subjects, viz., Horace in the morning (before breakfast), Euclid at eleven, and Tytler's *History* at three. At the beginning of the year he was hindered in his work in Euclid by the lack of a blackboard, supposed to be provided by the class. In this subject the students were not allowed to bring their texts into class and were required to letter their diagrams differently from the designations contained in the books which they studied. During the fall, the college, in general, was quiet, but in November the tutor was obliged to quell a disturbance between the two Societies and send the "Fraters" to their rooms. The Sophomores performed Horace's *Carmen Sæculare*, marching in procession around the plain and through the college buildings with musical instruments, singing the ode to a tune of their own composition. They were required to translate this work into English verse. The ordinary assignment in Horace was set at 130 lines.

Early in December the students began to leave and at the end of the term, which closed on January 5, but a dozen remained in town. Willard complains of the necessity of spending so much time in "government meeting" upon cases of discipline, in one of which

ten juniors were involved in an "eating and drinking scrape," the sinfulness of the "eating" being based upon the fact that the food was obtained by theft. A number of these students were suspended. On April 8, as sophomore tutor, Willard announced the list of appointments for the annual exhibition and recorded "I am now prepared for rotten egg & brick bats and all the et cetera which of late years belong to the giving out of Sophomore Appointments." The importance of the matter was regarded by the students as extreme. Of the exercise at which the announcement was made Willard said:

I never in my life saw such anxiety exhibited in the countenance as there was on those of the members of the class during recitation. One circumstance will serve to show the extreme interest with which they will have been looking forward to these appointments. They expected they would come out this morning and Kelly, who rooms with Tutor Wood, awoke him several times last night by talking about them in great agitation in his sleep. Once he exclaimed, "It is decided for time and eternity."

The dissatisfaction expected to result from the selections did actually develop and the class attempted to go on a strike, a movement which the tutor succeeded in checking, assigning to himself high praise for his skill in handling the situation. The strain of this competition upon the students and, even more, the pressure to which the young tutor who served as a judge was subjected, were considered so unfortunate that soon after this period the sophomore exhibition was abandoned. Guests for the annual Commencement began to arrive as early as Saturday, and the festivities were continuous (except on Sunday) from that time through Thursday. Willard speaks of a "large party at Mr. Farrar's," of "dining with much company at Professor Chamberlain's," "spending the evening with *very* much company at Professor Haddock's," "taking wine and cake at Professor Chamberlain's," "visiting at the President's; more than 150 ladies & gentlemen there." The public dinner was not a success, being "miserably cold & badly served up and the wine hot enough to boil eggs in." Hospitality of members of the instructing force to all respectable visitors was evidently taken as a matter of

course. Thus Horatio Newhall, a casual visitor to Hanover upon another Commencement, records that he "took tea at Professor Shurtleff's with thirty or forty ladies and gentlemen," "took cake and wine at Professor Haddock's," "dined at Professor Muzzey's, a curious cheese being served." He also obtained refreshment at the homes of Professor Dana and the President. How these worthy men managed to provide this generous hospitality upon salaries of \$700 a year is a matter concerning which we have no information.

Of Dartmouth graduates during the period from 1815 to 1828 the most eminent is Rufus Choate, of the class of 1819. His was the type of mind which the classical curriculum fitted to a nicety and his college years, despite the contentions which marked the period, subsequently appealed to him as the happiest of his life. Much later he wrote:

My college life was so exquisitely happy that I should like to re-live it in my son. The studies of Latin and Greek—Livy, Horace, Tacitus, Xenophon, Herodotus and Thucydides—had ever a charm beyond expression and the first opening of our great English authors, Milton, Addison, Johnson, and the great writers for the reviews made that time of my life a brief, sweet dream. They created tastes and supplied sources of enjoyment which support me to this day.


Such were his tastes that, while an undergraduate, the future career which appealed to him most was that of the college teacher. At that time he was sure that he never would be fitted for "an active life" and that none of the professions had any charms for him. In particular, he asserted that he would never "submit to the dull and tiresome routine of a special pleader's life." Very likely the experience which he gained as a spectator and as a defendant in the litigation which centered around the institution during most of his undergraduate days aroused in him an interest in the law. Like most of the undergraduates of his day, he was poor. The sum of his college charges was \$97.73; but of this he succeeded in paying only \$13.59 during his student days, giving a note upon graduation for the remainder. From the first he was recognized as the most brilliant man of his generation, and his valedictory address, delivered at a time

when his health was so impaired that it was generally thought that he could not muster strength for the effort and when many feared that his life was drawing to a close, was a dramatic episode. Choate returned to the college as a tutor for the year 1819-20. He carried away from the institution, not only the mental stimulation of which he speaks with so much enthusiasm, but a bride, the daughter of Mills Olcott.

Other graduates of the period who achieved some measure of distinction were three presidents of the University of Vermont, John Wheeler and Joseph Torrey, both of 1816, and James Marsh, of 1817. John Hubbard, 1816, was Governor of Maine, and Ralph Metcalf, 1823, Governor of New Hampshire. George P. Marsh, 1820, lawyer, diplomat and author, was for four years United States Minister to Turkey and for twenty-one years (from 1861 to 1882) Minister to Italy. Alpheus Crosby, 1827, rose to fame as a result of the wide use of his Greek Grammar. Most successful in the realm of public affairs was Salmon P. Chase, 1826, Governor of Ohio and Senator from that state, Secretary of the Treasury under Lincoln, and from 1865 to 1873 Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

In August, 1828, Bennett Tyler, having received a call to the pastorate of the Second Congregational Church in Portland, Maine, resigned the presidency.¹ The end of his administration marked the end of an era in the history of the college. The institution had emerged from the tutelage of a family dynasty, it had survived a period of acute dissension, it had measurably recovered from the shock of that struggle. It was now ready to build upon the foundations which had been laid.

¹ He retained this pastorate six years, and then (in 1834) became President and professor of Christian Theology at the Theological Institute of East Windsor, Connecticut, a service which continued until 1857. He died in 1858.



CHAPTER IX

Nathan Lord

The Material Affairs of the College

THE departure of President Tyler left the trustees in no uncertainty as to the direction in which they should turn for his successor. At the very meeting at which his resignation was read (August 19, 1828) the board unanimously elected to the presidency one of their own members, the Reverend Nathan Lord of Amherst, New Hampshire.

President Lord was born in South Berwick, Maine, on November 28, 1792. He was a graduate of Bowdoin in the class of 1809, and, after serving for three years as a teacher in Phillips-Exeter Academy, entered the Andover Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1815. In the next year he assumed charge of the Congregational Church at Amherst, New Hampshire, and soon took his place among the recognized leaders of the denomination in that part of the state. He was elected a trustee of the college in 1821. In the later years of his pastorate his health became unsettled and, in particular, a disorder of the throat so affected his voice as to keep him from the pulpit for long periods. His future in the ministry, at a time when the demands upon the pastor for high vocal efficiency were at their maximum, thus seemed to be uncertain. It was thought that the position of college administrator to which he was called might well appeal to him as one admirably adapted to his needs.

Nevertheless, he did not immediately accept the presidency. He was not certain that his health would prove adequate to the demands of the office, nor was he confident that his abilities were such as to

fit him for the position. The steady improvement in his physical state eventually lessened the first of these difficulties and the persuasions of friends, upon whose judgment he felt he could rely, minimized the second. At a meeting of the board on October 18, 1828, he signified his willingness to accept the office and he was inaugurated in the College Church on the following day. Thus at the age of thirty-five (upon his accession he was the youngest of the college presidents of New England) he entered upon a task which was to continue for as many years to come, a term longer than that of any of the presidents of the college save John Wheelock, whose leadership continued over a period of approximately equal length.

Never did the trustees of the college show greater wisdom in the choice of a leader than they did in the selection of Nathan Lord. In intellectual capacity he was probably the superior of any of his predecessors. His mind was profound, his mental processes quick and clear, his reasoning exact and logical. His range of interest was wide and his mind was active in the consideration of problems highly varied in their nature. His technical acquirements in his special field (that of a long-forgotten theology) were extensive. Moreover, he possessed keen practical sense and a capacity for managing the tottering finances of the college with skill and courage. He was firm in his opinions, persistent in pushing them on, but devoid of rancor if they did not prevail. He was generally successful in the management of men. His associates, both in the faculty and in the board of trustees, had a high respect for his personality and a wholesome dread of encountering his clear logic in matters of controversy. He was at his best in handling the turbulent student body of the day. The evil-doers whole-heartedly feared him; those whose consciences were clear regarded him (at a distance) with awe and respect, in many cases not unmixed with affection. His physical courage, tested in the pacification of many a student *melée*, was unquestioned; his moral courage often led him into difficulties which are avoided by those whose sense of discretion renders them little obstinate in defending a righteous but unpopular cause. From comparative youth to old age he devoted these qualities, whole-heartedly and untiringly, to the service of the college. It is true that his fundamental premises sometimes led him into theories which were regarded by

his theological contemporaries as eccentric; it is true that the same premises, applied to social and political problems, brought him to conclusions which were highly unpopular and which eventually caused his downfall. But among the college presidents of his day, among such outstanding leaders as Mark Hopkins of Williams, Francis Wayland of Brown, and Eliphalet Nott of Union, his contemporaries assigned to him no subordinate position. As we look upon his career we do not find their opinion to have been an overestimate.

Nathan Lord was the first of the presidents of the college to prepare with care and deliver at length an inaugural address, in which his ideas of the purposes of the institution were set forth and the policies of his administration forecasted. Although minor modifications in them were made both by Lord himself and by his successors, in the main the principles which he enunciated were those animating the institution in his time and in that of the two presidents who, in turn, followed him. As the credo of the college for so many years, his address deserves especial consideration.

He began, in modern style, by deprecating the "restless age in which we live and the new inventions which are changing so rapidly the civilization of the fathers." Among other novelties, "crowds of innovations in education" were being proposed in place of the time-honored and tested methods. He did not wholly reject the theories behind these novel ideas, although evidently he looked upon some of them with suspicion, but, nevertheless, he was sure that trial of them must be limited to "institutions that have become venerable by age, and powerful in resources and patronage." The feebler colleges could not take the risk of entering upon hazardous experiments until their success had been established. It was his conclusion, therefore, that Dartmouth should hold fast to traditional methods until overwhelming evidence was at hand that change would be advantageous. The college course was considered by the new president as "introductory to professional study" and not "designed for individuals who were to engage in mercantile, mechanical or agricultural operations." The possibility of eventually enlarging the institution to the status of a university was mentioned, but it was rejected from immediate consideration be-

cause "the attempt to magnify the college" at that time would tend to "destroy the efficiency of the institution." He favored the imposition of entrance requirements of a reasonable character, which should then be rigidly adhered to, and the provision of a well-stored library and a "philosophical apparatus and cabinet" he regarded as highly important, the more so as "no single book can be expected to be suitable for the training of a student in any subject." He thought that intellectual philosophy, "by which the mind becomes inspired by acquaintance with its own powers," might well be introduced earlier in the course than had hitherto been the case. The center of instruction, however, must always be the classics. "It is not probable that the name of scholar will ever be awarded to one who has not loved to spend his days and nights upon the pages of antiquity nor drunk deep from those original sources of taste and genius and philosophy." No one can become learned in any department who has not "in the early stages of education, at least, received inspiration from the oratory and poetry of other times." Nevertheless, while holding fast to this principle, he believed that "the field of authors studied might be more limited and time thereby given for greater acquisitions in the literature of modern times."

Matters such as these were of interest, but the one all-important function of the college was, in his mind, to supply a "pervading influence of moral and religious teaching." He did not think that the student was so much exposed to corrupting influences as was the common notion of the time, but, nevertheless,

The very cultivation of the mind has frequently a tendency to impair the moral sensibilities, to induce that pride of conscious ability and variety of attainments which as they are, most of all, affections offensive to God, so they become, surely, through insensibility, most pernicious in their influence upon the individuals who cherish them, and contribute to poison those streams which ought only to carry abroad health and blessing to the world.

He decried the spirit of emulation in college as working against its fundamental purpose, and called attention to the danger involved in the study of the "unsanctified literature of antiquity." A literary institution, he said, must be, first of all, a safe resort both in

relation to religion and to country. No sectarian or party prejudices should be fostered, but "the first and the last of the labors of the college is the inculcation of piety." It may be remarked, parenthetically, that while piety in the more inclusive sense was highly prized by the college leaders of the time, what they really had in mind by the term was acquiescence in the tenets of an evangelical protestant church.

These principles, in general, guided Nathan Lord throughout his administration, although, as he became better acquainted with the problem of the college, he introduced modifications of detail and even set forth certain ideals which were entirely new. In his presidential report of 1833 he called attention to the special obstacles, springing from disputes of the past, which Dartmouth was obliged to encounter, and he outlined the policy which seemed best adapted to meet them.

The College lies already under the disadvantage as being solely controlled by a sectarian influence; but few public men have any concern in its affairs; many of the most considerable among the professional class of the state were educated at other institutions and their attachments have never been transferred; it has no patronage of wealth and power and stands unfavorably in all these respects to meet the spirit of competition which is manifestly impelling other kindred institutions of the country, so that any defections in its interior organization, or any unequal working of its departments, or any accidental circumstance injuriously affecting the feelings of its students, may occasion material and permanent loss.

At this time the institution was confronted with a revival of the movement to establish another college in the state. That movement did not emerge beyond the stage of discussion; a result which may have been due, in part, to the loyal acceptance by the president of the logical inference of the Dartmouth College decision. Never during his administration did Nathan Lord make an appeal to the legislature for financial assistance. In his report of 1834 he urged that officers of the college should come in more frequent contact with the ministers of the state, as he had found that numerous misapprehensions concerning the ideas and purposes of the institution

existed among these clerical leaders. The necessity of a clear understanding of the college was highly important, he said, on account of the opposition aroused by the "aristocratic and anti-republican nature of the college charter." Good feeling and sympathy, activated by the clergy, leading to private financial support, rather than the appropriation of public money, was the goal at which he aimed.

By 1841 he had changed his mind concerning the desirability of enlarging the institution to the status of a university. In connection with the revival of the Phillips professorship, a movement which, he hoped, would open the way to a school of theology, he wrote:

Another step will then place the College in the position of an University, to which the Div. Providence has been so evidently leading it and for which the public opinion is, in a great degree, prepared. There will hardly be a doubt to those who look carefully into this subject that professional students, as well in law, as in Medicine and Divinity, may be drawn to the Institution in sufficient numbers to meet the wants of this portion of the country and to sustain such Departments even upon slender endowment.

In this prediction of the future course of Dartmouth he went far astray. More prescient was he in 1843 in the abandonment of another of the positions set forth in his inaugural address and in the vision which he then formed of the direction which the college was to take in the years to come, although not in his own time. Speaking of the overcrowding of the professions, he remarked that its effect might be counterbalanced by

... the tendencies which exist in the country to multiply educated men for its physical as well as for its intellectual wants. The College lays a foundation of general training and intelligence no better than is required for all the departments of civilization. That idea is beginning to be appreciated, and agriculture, commerce, manufactures, with the various arts relating to them, are calling upon the higher literary institutions for a proportion of their graduated students. The increasing equalization in these respects will doubtless, on the whole, become a balance for what otherwise might be a disproportionate increase of professional men. It will not only secure

the higher schools of learning their present position, but gradually favor their advancement and their more extended influence.

At President Lord's accession, student attendance was at a lower point than it had been for a number of years, the enrollment in the academic department in 1828-29 being only 125. A steady increase ensued, however, so that by 1835-36 the number was 186. Then came a period of unexpected and somewhat embarrassing prosperity, the attendance rising in five years to 341. The graduates of 1842 numbered 87, a larger class than ever before had received degrees from the institution, and larger than any that was to leave it for more than fifty years to come. If the embarrassment resulting from this rapid increase was mitigated by a feeling of pride at the apparent popularity of the college, no mitigation could be found for the discouragement caused by the collapse which followed. In 1841-42 the number was 331, and then, in two years, it dropped to 208. A slower decline then ensued, so that by 1845-46 the number had reached the low mark of 179.

Just what the causes for these violent fluctuations may have been is unknown. The reasons assigned at the time are not convincing. The rise in numbers was ascribed to the prosperity of the country during the earlier period and the decline to a subsequent business depression. Periods of prosperity and panic have an effect on college attendance, but never in the history of the institution has that effect been so extreme as here. Whatever may have been the cause, the consequences were not a matter of doubt. During the period of rapid growth the institution was obliged to strain every nerve to stretch its inadequate income and facilities to meet the increasing needs. That result having been attained in part, the student body suddenly decreased to half the number for which teaching force and equipment had been supplied. The financial embarrassment which resulted from each phase of the process should be obvious to anyone.

The tide by this time had reached its lowest point, however, and in 1846-47 began a steady increase, marked by minor fluctuations, which continued until 1860. In the fall of the latter year the enrollment in the academic department was 275, to which should be added

42 students registered in the Chandler School. Omitting the unexplained peak in the curve of attendance around 1840, the enrollment of the college during the Lord administration shows a healthy and normal growth. It was interrupted only by the outbreak of the Civil War. With the beginning of that struggle attendance of course decreased, and in the last year of the president's service (1862-63) it was but 204 (plus 34 in the Chandler School).

The percentage of students coming from New Hampshire was at its maximum in the earlier years of the period. In 1830 it was 74.6% of the whole, while that from the two states of Vermont and New Hampshire constituted 84.3% of that total. The college had become very decidedly a local institution. The proportion from New Hampshire then declined sharply, so that in 1840 it was 56.9%, in 1850, 50.27%, and in 1860, 53.37%. The geographical distribution naturally became more varied as means of transportation improved. In 1830 representatives of but six states were members of the college, while in 1860 the number had increased to eighteen. In particular, in the later years small but numerically constant delegations were received from the South.

The difficulties resulting from the fluctuations described above become very apparent upon consideration of the treasurer's reports from year to year, particularly that part of them relating to annual income and expenditure. In the earlier years the accounts were so drawn up that it is impossible to determine the annual surplus or deficit which resulted from the ordinary operation of the college. From a budget presented in 1828-29, however, it may be deduced that the income was expected to be \$6311.50, while the expenditure was placed at \$7490.85. At this time the college was apparently running at a loss. By 1836-37 (when the accounts became more clear) the financial situation had changed for the better, and a surplus of \$1407.79 was reported. For seven years that favorable condition prevailed, the most satisfactory results being attained in 1841-42, when the surplus was \$2661.48. At that time the income had risen to \$15,763.14, while the expenditure was \$13,101.66. With the abrupt decrease in student attendance which followed that period, the income showed a sharp decline, dropping from the maximum recorded above to \$10,378.19 in 1845-46. Expenditure likewise was

reduced so far as possible but the process could not be made to keep pace with the fall in income. Obviously an annual deficit was the result, amounting in the college year 1843-44 to \$2464.53 while in the following year it had increased to \$3719.71. For eight successive years expenditure outran income, the total of adverse balances for that period being \$15,965.58, an amount which represented no small proportion of the college endowment. In 1851-52 for the first time the accounts showed a small surplus and from then on until the outbreak of the Civil War the balance between income and expenditure was about even. Beginning with 1836 and continuing through the remaining years of the Lord administration the total of deficits was \$20,333, while that of surpluses was \$11,948.

At the president's accession the resources of the college (outside the educational plant) were estimated by the treasurer to be \$41,500. Debts owed by the institution amounted to about \$15,900, making the net endowment \$25,600. In addition, the buildings and library were valued at \$12,500. In 1861, two years before the close of the administration, the treasurer's estimate of the value of college funds was \$214,800, from which were to be deducted debts amounting to \$32,600, leaving the net endowment at the sum of \$182,200. The value of the college plant was not given at that time, but the number of buildings had increased during the period from two to five. Let us inquire in some detail into the particulars of this increase, and estimate, so far as we can, just what its relation to the prosperity of the institution really was.

It will be remembered that in the last years of President Tyler's term a subscription to raise \$50,000 had been instituted, the fund to be used for paying the debts of the college, for the erection of new buildings and for the general purposes of the institution. Without waiting for the proceeds to become available, the trustees entered upon a building program which seemed to them absolutely requisite if they were to be relieved of the reproach that the students were inadequately housed. At first, their plan was to repair and enlarge the chapel, and to construct a building of wood to serve as a dormitory. A plan of larger scope eventually prevailed, however, and it was decided to erect two buildings of brick, seventy by fifty feet, three stories in height, one placed at each end of Dartmouth

Hall. The architect of these structures was Ammi B. Young and the expense was estimated to be \$12,000. The work was begun under the supervision of Professor Chamberlain and, upon Nathan Lord's arrival in October, 1828, he found the structures nearly completed. They were named Thornton and Wentworth Halls after early benefactors of the college. The requirement for a chapel was met by clearing away the space running up through the first two stories, in the center of Dartmouth Hall; an apartment which served its designed purpose until the erection of Rollins Chapel in 1885, and which continued to be used for various college assemblies until the burning of the building in 1904. The cost of all these improvements, as is usual in such cases, somewhat outran the estimates and amounted to \$16,207.55.

The bold plunge of the trustees in thus obligating the college, by an extensive building program, to a payment so large, with no funds on hand to meet the expense, made the success of the \$50,000 subscription almost a matter of life or death. Confronted with this crisis immediately upon his induction into office, Nathan Lord set himself with all energy to meet it. The condition under which subscriptions had been solicited was that \$30,000 must be secured by Commencement in 1829, or all the pledges would be regarded as void. Less than a year was thus available for the completion of the campaign. The principal appeal of the college was to the Congregational clergy of New Hampshire and their aid was earnestly sought as unpaid agents in the enterprise. The subscription books show that their response was generous and that many of them must have labored diligently to interest their parishioners in the needs of the institution. Nevertheless, as Commencement day approached, the amount subscribed was considerably short of the necessary minimum. In July the president visited Boston, with results which somewhat discouraged him. He wrote thus to Professor Chamberlain:

Boston is under a cloud. Yet something will be done. I shall probably spend next week in this city & the week after in N. York & be home, Deo vol., about the 8th of August. I despair of filling up

short of N. Y. since Mr. Bartlett has declined. Dr. Mussey thinks that N. Y. will not refuse us.

Me miserum! when shall I rest from this sorry labor? For myself I could not perform it. But for the College & the great interests with which it is connected, it is well to suffer. Especially in view of enlightenment and success which I believe God will send.

At the very end, it appeared that the subscription would just fall short of the desired amount. Moving appeals for an increase in their pledges to persons who had already made generous contributions brought a moderate response, and on Commencement day the subscriptions on the books amounted to \$29,560. Whereupon, the president pledged himself to give the requisite \$440, (in addition to his original subscription of \$500) on the condition that further returns should be credited to this amount. As it turned out, additional pledges were received which reduced his liability to \$94.50.

The greater part of the money was raised in New Hampshire. Subscriptions were received from 883 individuals in 118 towns of the state. From outside sources 190 subscriptions were secured. The largest sum, \$1000, was given by Daniel Hardy of Pelham, New Hampshire. Nine persons contributed \$500 each, while 53 more gave amounts ranging from \$100 to \$500. The faculty was evidently expected to be generous, and nobly did its members respond to those expectations. The President and Professors Adams, Oliver, and Mussey gave \$500 each; Professors Shurtleff and Hale, \$300, Professor Chamberlain \$250, Professor Howe \$200, Professor Haddock \$100, all this upon a salary (for a professor) of \$700 a year. Payment, however, was not demanded in a lump sum, but could be distributed over five years. The total amount raised in Hanover (from 42 subscriptions) was \$4,342.25. Gifts of materials were not despised. Professor Hale's subscription was in the form of minerals, as was that of Frederick Hall. A number of persons in Hanover combined to purchase a bell, while a clock was given by George Holbrook of Medway, Massachusetts; a mechanism which, for nearly eighty years, set the time in Hanover with serene disregard for the movements of the heavenly bodies. In the attempt to stretch the amount attained to the required \$30,000, it may be assumed

that the value set upon these articles did not err on the side of an underestimate.

Difficult as it was to obtain subscribers, it was even more difficult to secure payment from them. Actual cash came in with distressing slowness. Eventually it was found necessary to employ paid collectors, although the work, done by impecunious students of the Andover Theological Seminary during their vacations, was not unduly expensive. Not until 1841 did the thin trickle of funds from this source entirely cease. At that time \$5,025.82 of the amount originally subscribed remained unpaid and uncollectable. The sum actually realized was just short of \$25,000, an amount which was sufficient to pay for the new buildings erected by the trustees and to cancel the long-standing indebtedness of the institution to the estate of John Wheelock. The latter account was settled in February, 1832, by a payment of \$8,700 to his executor, President Allen. Small appropriations were also made for the purchase of books and for scientific apparatus. However, except for relief coming from the cessation of interest payments to the Wheelock estate, the fund did not contribute materially toward easing the current financial difficulties of the college.

In view of the almost complete lack of endowment applicable to general purposes, the problem of financing the institution was a continual source of anxiety to the trustees throughout the period. That anxiety was not lessened by the fact that most of the institutions with which Dartmouth was regarded as a competitor were, in general, more fortunate in securing funds. As a result, faculty salaries were lower in Hanover than they were elsewhere, and the material equipment of the college suffered from comparison with that of its rivals. In 1834 the trustees determined to initiate another subscription, with \$50,000 as the goal once more. Among the pressing needs which they promised to care for by the fund thus attained were the endowment of a chair of modern languages and the completion of the endowment of the Phillips chair of divinity, with a view to the eventual establishment of an Institute of Theology. The appeal was again directed to the "clergy and churches of New Hampshire and the liberal members of the public at large." Evidently the times were found to be unpropitious, for nothing more

was heard of the enterprise. In 1837 the Phillips fund amounted to just under \$4,000. The chair had been vacant since the resignation of Professor Howe in 1830, and it was now decided that it should not be filled until, by accretion of interest, the fund should become adequate to care for the salary of the professor without further drain upon the other resources of the college. Necessarily, then, the pastorate of the church, formerly always connected with the chair, was no longer joined to it, nor filled by any college officer, although the trustees promised to contribute annually three-sevenths (\$300) of the salary of the minister who should be employed by the congregation. By 1847 the Phillips fund had increased to over \$10,000 and the income was considered sufficient for the support of the professor, although no incumbent for the office was chosen until 1849. In 1860 the capital of the fund was estimated to be \$12,216, with an annual income of \$1,016.12. Provision for instruction in modern languages, the other object set forth by President Lord in his appeal of 1834 as among the most pressing needs of the college, was not cared for in any adequate way until the very end of his term.

During the first decade of the period a thin trickle of funds, in most cases designed for special purposes, commenced to come to the college, encouraging in themselves and forecasting more liberal supplies in the future. Returns from the second college land grant began to be received. It had now become fairly clear that the land would never be useful for agricultural purposes, and that returns from it would be restricted to yields from the sale of lumber. The demand for that commodity, however, was increasing and it was becoming necessary to go farther afield for a supply, bringing the region of the grant well within the scope of the woodman's activities. The business was troublesome for a college to manage and the depredations of trespassers, in a region so remote from effective control, were difficult to check. In 1831 the college gave a needed lesson to one of these marauding parties by its success in recovering a considerable sum as a result of legal action. Including this award, the income from the grant from 1826 to 1831 was nearly \$2000. In 1835 negotiations were nearly completed for the sale of the entire tract for \$50,000, but fortunately (in the light of subsequent developments) the bargain in some way fell through. For the

remainder of the period various leases for the cutting of timber were arranged with different persons, who frequently found themselves unable to carry out their agreements in full, and who sometimes failed, compelling the college to act quickly in impounding the cut timber so that the stumpage payments should not be lost. Once a contract was cancelled at some pecuniary loss, that a more favorable one might be substituted for it. Despite these difficulties, an intermittent, but highly welcome, return was obtained from the grant during the whole period, so that by 1861 the college had received from that source, in cash or in notes for future payment, about \$21,500. This sum was treated as capital, the interest being applied to the payment of scholarships to New Hampshire students.

In 1835 came the first of the scholarships established by an individual. A legacy of \$1150 was received from the estate of Mrs. Mary Clark of Portsmouth, the income to be devoted to the "education of pious young men of good talents . . . for the gospel ministry." For a time it was treated as an accumulating fund and in 1860 the principal of it amounted to \$4000. In 1838 a gift was received from Frederick Hall, 1803, long professor of chemistry in a number of institutions and at one time president of Mt. Hope College, of about 5000 mineral specimens valued at \$5000, and \$5000 more in cash, the latter to be allowed to accumulate until the fund became large enough to endow a professorship of geology and mineralogy. In 1843 President Hall died, leaving to the college the remainder of his mineral collection (for the most part duplicates of specimens already received) and making the institution the residuary legatee of his estate. At the time it was feared that not much would be actually obtained from this gift, but it turned out that the property thus coming to the college (composed for the most part of western lands) was of considerable value, although difficult to convert into ready cash. In 1861 the fund amounted to \$17,000, with some of the land yet unsold. In 1838 expectations were aroused by a bequest from William Reed, a merchant of Marblehead, Massachusetts, for a short time a trustee of the college. His will provided that \$7000 should be paid to the institution upon the death of Mrs. Reed, \$10,000 more upon the death of another legatee, and a further sum of \$12,600 contingent upon the pleasure of Mrs. Reed, "when she

should have no occasion for the use of it." The last provision made it particularly necessary that the widow should be kept in good humor, and President Lord did his best to attain that end, apparently without much success, for the last item of the bequest never came to the institution. In fact, nothing at all was obtained from that source during the president's own connection with the college. The legacy of \$7000 was not paid until 1865 and the second item of \$10,000 was not received until 1868.

The rapid increase in student numbers between 1835 and 1840 far outran existing accommodations. In 1838 the trustees, in an optimistic frame of mind, voted that "it is expedient to erect two buildings, one north and one south of the present structures." The "mansion house" of Eleazar Wheelock was purchased from President Allen for \$3000; it was moved to its present site (where it now serves as the Howe Library) and on the vacated lot the construction of one of the two projected buildings was begun in 1839. The architect was Ammi B. Young, the builder was Dyer B. Young, while the interests of the college were represented by Professor Ira Young, three brothers. The contract called for an expenditure of \$11,000, but, as usual, the cost far exceeded that estimate. Final settlement was a matter of some difficulty and led to a dispute with the contractor, arranged amicably by arbitration in 1843. The cost of the "spacious and fine edifice" was about \$15,000. The college and society libraries were removed from Dartmouth Hall to the new building, which also housed the "philosophical apparatus," the art gallery and the collection of minerals. In honor of the donor whose bequests were expected to pay for it (funds which did not become available, however, for more than twenty-five years), it was named Reed Hall. The decrease in the student enrollment beginning with 1841 made it apparent that the second of the projected buildings would not be required; surely, from an architectural point of view, a great pity. The cost of the new structure seems to have been carried as a loan from the general funds of the college.

In 1841, thirteen years having elapsed since the subscription of 1828, the trustees considered that the time was ripe for another appeal to the public. The amount asked for was once more \$50,000, but, with curious forgetfulness of the hectic struggle in the earlier

enterprise, it was again made a condition that all subscriptions were to be void if \$30,000 should not be secured by August 1, 1843. The special objects of this fund, as stated in the appeal for subscriptions, were the endowment of a new professorship, the completion of the Phillips endowment, the erection of an observatory and the enlargement of the philosophical, astronomical and chemical apparatus and the library. The Reverend William Cogswell, 1811, was appointed Professor of Natural Education and History, but the principal duty assigned to him was to act as agent in charge of the projected subscription. His efforts were painstaking, but by August 1, 1843, the amount subscribed was far below the necessary minimum. However, some of the larger subscribers renewed their pledges and warmly recommended that additional efforts should be made. The closing date of the campaign was thereupon advanced to August 1, 1845. It now became necessary to visit all the old subscribers with a request that their subscriptions should be renewed and also to obtain as many new pledges as possible. In 1844 Professor Cogswell resigned to become President of the Gilmanton Theological Seminary and the work was intrusted to a paid agent, not a member of the faculty, the Reverend G. M. Ellis, who was successful in his efforts, reporting on July 29, 1845, that the pledges deemed sure amounted to \$32,566, while upon \$1600 more payment might reasonably be expected. Again, time was to show that subscription was not equivalent to payment. The amount actually received (the last payments did not come in until 1854) was \$26,565, while the expense of securing subscriptions and making collections was nearly \$5000, so that the college did not actually obtain much over \$21,000.

The largest donor to this fund was Samuel Appleton of Boston, who gave \$10,000 with the request that his subscription should be applied to the endowment of a professorship of natural philosophy. The interest aroused in Mr. Appleton had further consequences. Upon his death in 1854, it was found that he had made provision for the payment of an additional sum of \$15,000 to complete this endowment. The Appleton fund was thus the first possessed by the college to be wholly adequate to meet the charges imposed upon it for the upkeep of a department.

In 1847 and 1848, through the death of Mrs. Huldah Evans, the legacy left to the college by her husband nearly forty years before became available. It brought in about \$4400, a much smaller amount than originally had been expected. The money was set aside as an accumulating fund for the endowment of a professorship of oratory. In 1852 Dr. George C. Shattuck, 1803, gave \$7000 for the construction and equipment of an observatory, and \$2000 more for the purchase of books for the library. At the same time Professor Roswell Shurtleff added \$1000 for the latter purpose. As early as 1846, \$1000 had been received from the Parker family, the interest to be used for the purchase of books. For the time it was treated as an accumulating fund, and to it were added a bequest of \$500 from Isaac Parker in 1859 and a gift of \$1000 from Judge Joel Parker, 1811, in 1860. In 1852 came the largest single donation which the college had received, namely \$50,000 from the estate of Abiel Chandler, of Walpole, New Hampshire, which, in accordance with the terms of the will, was to be employed for the endowment of a scientific school. The discussion of its application will be deferred until later in this chapter.

In 1854 the trustees once again felt that an appeal might be made to the public with good prospects of success and accordingly voted that agents should be employed to solicit subscriptions for a fund of \$100,000. No special attempt seems to have been made to carry on the undertaking at this time, but in 1855 the president prepared the way by spending several weeks in Boston, with the purpose of "forming a society of the alumni with reference to more effectual raising of money." The organization of the first alumni association had thus a purely utilitarian end. An alumni meeting was held at the Commencement of 1855, the program included a historical address by Professor S. G. Brown, and the first alumni dinner, with a list of speakers of appalling length. It was determined that these exercises should constitute a triennial function at Commencement. At the second meeting, in 1858, the alumni, fully impressed with the financial needs of the institution, voted to institute a subscription with the goal set at \$100,000. The trustees, although unaware of this action, at their annual meeting passed a vote calling for a similar movement. Anyone who should give \$500 or more to this

fund was to be allowed to designate the purpose for which the money should be used, and the inevitable provision was inserted that all pledges should be void if \$30,000 was not subscribed by June 1, 1859. Upon this occasion paid agents were thought to be unnecessary, because of the expectation that the work already done among the alumni would be sufficient to bring returns without special solicitation, other than the efforts of members of the faculty and individual correspondence. That hope was doomed to disappointment. The president reported that twelve hundred circulars had been sent to the graduates, "but not more than ten or twelve answers were received, and those pledging small amounts." On June 1 the amount subscribed was far below the requisite \$30,000. Just how much it was is not clear, but one list puts the total at \$16,572. Every expectation existed that most of the subscriptions would be paid, despite the time limitation, and some of them were, but it soon became apparent that no considerable sum could, at the time, be secured. In his report of 1860 President Lord said:

It has happened very adversely to the College, in this respect, that some gentlemen of whom we had had large expectations, both in respect to personal contributions and influence with others, have during the last year withheld their intended aid. Prof. Noyes and the treasurer, who visited Boston during the winter to prosecute an agency in this behalf, failed, on this account, in their enterprise and returned in discouragement. Subsequently I went to the city on the errand, but soon perceived that the difficulty could not be overcome as matters were then viewed. . . . The withdrawal of Judge Parker from the Board will be particularly adverse to the college in this respect.

Just which of a number of possible causes of friction caused this "difficulty" is not stated. Nor is it made clearer by the letter of resignation of Judge Joel Parker, whose influence was considered of such high importance. Probably it had to do with differences of opinion concerning the policy of the Chandler School.

The benefactions thus described brought the productive funds of the college in 1860 to the amount already stated—\$214,792.81. It

was a small endowment, even for the times. Moreover, the greater part of it was set aside for special purposes and was of little service in the general maintenance of the institution. A portion of it represented book accounts rather than tangible assets. It was the custom to meet annual deficits, and even the cost of buildings of a non-productive character, by drafts from capital. By a rather questionable practice, the specific funds were then credited with "loans to the college," quite as though such loans represented real value. Interest on these loans was supposed to be paid by the institution to the funds, but in times of adversity it was easy to omit that payment and, in place of it, to credit the funds with additional "loans." By 1861 these accumulated borrowings amounted to \$32,576.99. In some cases actual assets constituted but a small portion of the amount credited to a given fund on the college books.

The financial situation during these years has been traced with a detail which may seem tiresome. The reason for that treatment is that the financial status of the institution was a basic condition which affected every action which it was to take. Even in times of seeming prosperity, the management had to be of the most careful nature and no expenditure could be undertaken without the most rigid scrutiny of its necessity. The result was that the general conduct of college affairs could hardly be classified as otherwise than penurious, while, at times, it descended to what seems, on superficial examination, to be meanness and even, occasionally, sharp practice. In the overwhelming nature of college needs and the paucity of the means by which those needs could be met lies the reason, if not the excuse, for these rather narrow modes of action.

For the greater part of the period no advance was made in the charge for tuition. It remained at the point at which it had been fixed years before, namely \$27. In addition, a charge of \$2 was made to juniors and one of \$4 to seniors for instruction in chemistry. In 1848 these special fees were given up and a flat rate of \$31.50 was imposed, which in 1852 was advanced to \$36. That increase aroused so little opposition that in 1855 the charge was raised to \$42 and in 1859 it became \$51. The rapid advances in these later years were made less onerous than otherwise would have been the case by the growth of scholarship funds, which became sufficient in amount to

care for the tuition of such worthy but impecunious students as presented themselves.

The salary of the professor in 1828 remained at the figure at which it had been set seventeen years before, namely, \$700. In 1834 Professor Haddock obtained \$900, but that increase did not become available for the other professors until 1838. In 1839 Professor Haddock, who had been offered the presidency of Bowdoin at a salary of \$1500 and a house, again received an advance over his colleagues, the amount assigned him being \$1150. In 1843, owing to the acute financial crisis produced by the sharp decline in student numbers, the trustees felt obliged to lower all salaries. No record of this action is found on the books of the board, so we do not know just how much the reduction was in the individual cases, but it was probably \$200. In 1846 the former scale was restored, with back payments for the year 1845-46. In 1853 a moving appeal was received for more adequate pay from six members of the faculty, who complained that "in consequence of the higher prices of most articles of living & the multiplying demands of society they find their present salaries quite inadequate for their support." They called attention to the necessity under which they labored of supplementing their salaries by income from other sources, to the detriment of their college work. "They cannot but remember that they are spending the best years of their lives without a prospect of making any provision for their families hereafter or securing themselves from want, should sickness or want lay them aside from labor." And they called attention to the fact that salaries were generally higher in other institutions and that "not infrequently graduates of the college of two or three years standing occupy places as teachers far more lucrative and less responsible than Professors of the College." The trustees, having no money available at the time, could only respond with resolutions of sympathy. However, in 1854 the stated salary was increased to \$1100, where it remained for the remainder of the period. The compensation of the president was fixed at \$1000 in 1828, with the usual additional payment of \$200 for his services as President of Moor's School. In 1839 it was increased to \$1200, and in 1853 to \$1400.

The library received more attention during this period than had been the case in former times. In 1831 \$1000 was taken from the proceeds of the subscription of 1828 and assigned to it for the purchase of books, and an additional sum of \$400 was granted in the following year. With the erection of Reed Hall, adequate rooms were set apart for both the college and Society books, apartments which were adorned with the growing collection of college portraits. Professor Haddock assumed the duties of librarian in 1826 and remained in charge until 1850, when he was succeeded by Professor Hubbard. The salary, at first \$25, was later increased to \$50. Through occasional appropriations from general funds, but more largely by special gifts, such as the Parker, Shattuck and Shurtleff donations, the collection began to be respectable both in size and content. In 1861 the first catalogue was prepared. The Society libraries also grew. They continued to be the main resource of those students who wished to read, and, in the latter part of the period, they constituted the sole reason for the further existence of the Societies. In addition, the library of the Northern Academy of Sciences was housed with the college collection. That academy was a society formed in 1841 by Professor Cogswell during his short stay in Hanover. It was an organization of high ambitions, designed to implant in the somewhat uncongenial surroundings of northern New England a scientific society modeled on the learned societies of the old world. For obvious reasons its active life was short, but during that period it succeeded in accumulating a respectable library, including an exceedingly valuable collection of early newspapers and other periodicals of New England. Upon its demise the library became the property of the college. In 1860 the number of books in the various collections in Hanover was estimated as follows:

College Library	14,795
Social Friends	7,952
United Fraternity	7,594
Society of Inquiry	437
Philotechnic Society	650
Medical Library	1,100
Northern Academy	2,300
	<hr/>
	34,828

Despite this encouraging advance, the conception held by the authorities of the college of the purpose of a library, in its relation to undergraduates, strikes us with amazement. As in the previous period, the collection was open to each class for one hour, only, every two weeks. The Shurtleff and Shattuck donations were made with a strict stipulation that no book bought by these funds was to be taken from the library room by an undergraduate, but only by members of the faculty. The librarian, Professor Hubbard, reported that he had tried the new-fangled theory of giving the students free access to the books, but that he had found it utterly unworkable. The student thus turned loose, he said, after wandering aimlessly around the room, always came to the attendant and asked him what book he should take out. In his report of 1859 President Lord said:

The Library has been closed to students all the spring term, except that any have been permitted to draw books on the special order of any teacher. No inconvenience whatever has resulted, in the judgment of the librarian but an indefinite (?) advantage. From anything that now appears the Library might remain closed with equal advantage a much longer period.

So he advised that it should be thus closed for the coming year. His reason for this recommendation was to afford the librarian an undisturbed opportunity to classify the numerous accessions then being received, but it is clear that, in his mind, little relationship existed between undergraduates and the college books (the society collections being, of course, available to them). It is not a matter for wonder that a graduate of 1863 recorded that the "levee" held at his Commencement was the only occasion during their four years in Hanover upon which the members of his class entered the library room.

The scientific apparatus of the college was also notably increased. Upon the accession of Ira Young to the professorship of mathematics and natural philosophy in 1833, he informed the trustees that the small stock of apparatus in possession of the college was in a lamentable condition, that the scientific equipment had never been of sufficient quantity or quality to compare with that of other

institutions, and that such comparisons, in recent years, had become much more unfavorable than before through the success of the sister colleges of Dartmouth in greatly increasing their store. Professor Young seems to have been unusually successful in interesting the trustees in his difficulties, although, at that time, the board was not in possession of sufficient funds materially to improve the situation. Nevertheless, apparatus to the value of \$362 was purchased, the most expensive items of which were an altitude and azimuth instrument and an Atwood machine. The professor was also authorized to visit other institutions at the expense of the trustees, that he might become familiar with the latest improvements. Small additional appropriations were made in the following years, but it was not until 1846 that special attention was paid to the equipment in physical science. In that year \$2300, taken from the proceeds of the subscription of 1841, was set aside for the use of that department. A telescope, with an objective 6.4 inches in diameter, was ordered from Germany, the cost of which required the full amount of the appropriation. In fact, upon its arrival in 1848, much dismay was caused by the discovery that everyone had forgotten about the import duty levied on such instruments, which in this case amounted to \$750. However, the trustees were able to obtain a special act of Congress by which the duty was waived and the instrument finally reached its destination. No preparation had been made for its mounting or housing, but it was set up in Professor Young's garden by means of a rude frame, and partial use could be made of it, although it was impossible to employ the circles, clock and micrometer, and the instrument stood in great danger of injury. In 1849 the trustees appropriated \$300 for the erection of a temporary wooden housing, which was also built in Professor Young's garden, and, as a consequence, "great interest was awakened in students by these new facilities." In 1852 Dr. George C. Shattuck, 1803, of Boston, became interested in the astronomical and physical department and asked Professor Young to submit to him an estimate of the cost of sufficient equipment to put the college on a parity in this respect with other institutions of its class. The resulting report indicated that \$10,600 would be required to erect an observatory, to provide additional apparatus essential for astronomy and physics, and to

pay the expenses of an agent who should visit Europe for the purpose of securing this apparatus. Whereupon, Dr. Shattuck offered the college the sum of \$7000 on the condition that Professor Young's requirements should be met in full, that the professor himself should be sent to Europe to purchase the equipment, and that the cost, in excess of the amount of the proffered donation, should be provided by the college. In addition, he gave \$1000 for the purchase in Europe of books relating to mathematics and astronomy, and later the further sum of \$1000 to be devoted, for the most part, to books in Latin. To this gift Professor Shurtleff added \$1000 for the purchase of books in intellectual and moral philosophy. The trustees accepted the conditions thus stated and voted to borrow \$4000 to meet their part of the expense. Professor Young, accompanied by his son Charles, then an undergraduate but afterwards eminent as an astronomer, left Hanover early in 1853 and remained in Europe from April to September, visiting London, Paris, Brussels, Halle, Munich, Geneva and Edinburgh. The purchases of books made during this visit amounted to \$3750, while the apparatus which was secured cost \$2530. In the absence of the professor, the construction of the observatory was begun under the direction of Professor Hubbard and the building was completed during the following year. The cost of the structure was \$4715. The department was thus, for the time, adequately cared for, and the income from the Appleton fund (which was more than sufficient to pay the salary of the professor) kept it in a more satisfactory condition than was true of most of the departments of the college.

A small collection of minerals had been made by Professor Dana and considerably increased by his successor, Professor Hale. The gift of his large collection by President Hall made the resources of the institution, in this respect, entirely adequate to its needs. Provision for chemical instruction was upon a much less satisfactory footing. Professor Hubbard, upon his election to the professorship in 1835, received an appropriation of \$700 for the purchase of apparatus, and small amounts were annually devoted to that purpose in the following years, but not much more than enough to replace losses through breakage and to purchase the needed chemicals. In 1849 Professor Hubbard plaintively protested:

That the means for pursuing Analysis by students & more by myself are so imperfect, that they are not capable of determining with precision the composition of a single body or even the proper weight of any element. That it is impossible to meet the reasonable expectations of the public or individuals when applying for the Analysis of minerals & the determination of the value of ores, a demand which ought to be met as well as one for surveying a field.

The appropriation of \$150 which he received in response to this plea probably did not go very far toward satisfying the needs of the department. In 1860 he returned to the charge with excusable impatience. He asserted that he had no lecture room, except one shared with the other medical professors, and therefore could not set up apparatus in advance nor continue experiments from one lecture to another.

Again an insurmountable difficulty in the present circumstances is found, that in the fall all the solutions must be removed to my cellar & the water cisterns emptied to prevent their destruction by freezing & they cannot be reestablished until sometime the following March—even in the 2d or 3d week. During the whole winter, therefore, the apartments are in the condition of a ship dismantled and laid up in ordinary. The building is of solid brick walls, with no furring or lath & with the chill & silence of the tomb is only fitted for the tenancy of the dead & to them it should be abandoned.

In pointed terms he contrasted the “facilities” for chemical instruction at Dartmouth with those existing at Harvard, Amherst, Yale, Wesleyan, Brown, Columbia, West Point, Union and Hamilton. On the whole, it should seem to any fair-minded person, and especially to a chemist, that he had established his case, but the financial condition of the college did not admit of improvement during his active tenancy of the professorship and no one but himself seems to have been much disturbed by the situation.

The portrait collection also received important additions. In 1829 the fourth Earl of Dartmouth presented to the institution a painting of his grandfather, the second Earl, a copy of a portrait by Reynolds. The *New York Mercury* on July 8, 1829, announced its arrival in the following terms:

The ship Cambria from London has brought out a full length portrait of William II, Earl of Dartmouth, the founder of Dartmouth College at Hanover, N. H. This splendid painting has been presented to that institution by a grandson of the noble Earl, and at the request of the Corporation [of New York City] graced their banqueting-room on the 4th, as the representative of one who was an early friend to our country, and is worthy to be remembered on its proudest anniversary. We understand that the cost was 200 guineas.

The portrait was placed on public exhibition in New York and Hartford, Connecticut. An enthusiastic observer noted that "the merits of the execution, independent of all other considerations, drew golden opinions—the veterans in paint, especially Col. Trumbull, say it's without a fault." Other portraits received during these years were those of the four college counsel in the Dartmouth College Case, presented by Dr. George C. Shattuck in 1836; a painting of Charles Marsh, by Lawson, obtained in 1850; one of Francis Brown, copied by Joseph Ames from a miniature by Morse, presented by Francis Brown Hayes in 1857; and a portrait of Rufus Choate, painted by Ames, the gift of Dr. J. B. Upham in 1860. Of either artistic or archæological merit or, possibly, both are the sculptured slabs from Nineveh, secured in 1856. They were obtained through the initiative and persistence of Professor Hubbard. In 1853 he wrote to Dr. Austin H. Wright, 1830, a missionary at Oroomiah, Persia, asking as to the possibility of securing for the college some of the tablets then being laid bare in the excavations at Nineveh, conducted by Sir Henry Rawlinson. Wright evidently had influence with those in control of the work and was successful in obtaining six of these tablets. They were carefully packed, transported on camel-back to Scanderoon in the summer of 1855, and then to Beirut in the later part of the year. Here they remained over the winter for lack of available transportation, but finally in 1856 they were placed in a sailing ship, landed in New York and reached their destination in December of that year. In recognition of his generosity, Rawlinson was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the trustees in 1857.

Of importance both to community and college, though not to be treated in especial detail in a history of the institution, was the coming of the railroad in 1847. Its effect in enlarging the constituency of the college has already been discussed. Another public improvement of significance was the erection of a free bridge across the Connecticut River in 1859. Its predecessor (the third to be built on that site), a toll bridge, was burned by a fire said to have been of incendiary origin in 1854. A bitter controversy then arose among the shareholders of the White River Falls Bridge Company, owners of the burned structure, who wished to retain their profitable monopoly, the Selectmen of Hanover, supported by most of the citizens in the eastern part of the town, who were opposed to an undertaking so expensive and of such little service to them as a public bridge would be, and a group of leading citizens of the village, who were strongly in favor of the project. The tangle was complicated, leading to extensive litigation, which cannot be described here. The interests of the trustees were involved in the controversy through their possession of all ferry privileges across the river within the township, given to them by Governor Wentworth many years before. This franchise they had leased to the bridge company. The board, however, took no part in the quarrel. The courts finally decided in favor of the advocates of a free bridge and the college was awarded \$833.33 as compensation for the loss of its ferry rights. This sum the trustees contributed toward the erection of the new bridge. The structure, now called the Ledyard Bridge, still survives. It was the first free bridge to span the Connecticut throughout its entire length.

One of the most vexing problems of college management was the care of the buildings. Although three of the four dormitory structures then housing the institution had been constructed during the period, the hard usage to which they were subjected caused them to deteriorate rapidly and soon to become unattractive to occupants. The limited resources of the institution stood in the way of proper attention to repairs and the state of dilapidation was thereby progressively increased. The rooms became so ruinous that private lodgings in the village were much more attractive to the students. To avoid financial loss, it was a college rule to assess on these stu-

dents rooming outside the rentals of unoccupied college rooms. This charge was considered unjust and the injured undergraduates did their best to obtain full value for their money and compensation for their wounded feelings by further damaging the vacant and dilapidated dormitory rooms. Moreover, in the constant wars between the classes, the temptation was always at hand to carry on the feud in such a way as to cause defilement and injury of recitation and other public halls. The chopping of wood in the corridors and in the rooms themselves, although forbidden, was a constant practice, and such unsanitary habits as the fattening of fowls in the college apartments were occasionally a source of vexation to the authorities and a cause of disciplinary action against the guilty students. In 1832 the faculty facetiously voted that "an experiment of scouring be made on the windows of the recitation rooms." In 1840 the coming of a less hardy age was forecasted by a faculty vote that the inspector "should furnish stoves for the chapel", the expense of the fuel to be charged to the students. Only after the lapse of seventy years from the origin of the college, did the Dartmouth undergraduate become so effeminate as to require external warmth to supplement the spiritual heat of the daily religious services. In 1845 the faculty ruled that the entries and recitation rooms should be swept three times a week, the chapel twice and the lecture room once. The "cabinet" and library were to be swept at the beginning of each term and "whenever else the college officers may direct." The chapel, lecture and apparatus rooms, library, and recitation rooms were to be washed during the May vacation, and all public rooms, "including windows and glass," were also to be washed just before Commencement. Ashes were removed once a week at the expense of the college, but that is all the care the dormitory rooms received, except that supplied by the students themselves. The total charge to the institution for janitorial service at that time was \$120 a year.

In 1846 Professor Sanborn, inspector of buildings, reported that twenty rooms had been unoccupied during the preceding year. All of them were decayed and some were positively uninhabitable. He also reported that the tax for these dilapidated apartments, levied on students rooming in the village, was considered by them, with some justice, to be entirely unwarranted, and he suggested that

\$1000 should be appropriated to repair the rooms and to make them attractive. The trustees approved this policy and set aside \$1500 for the purpose. The results were even more effective than the professor had anticipated. The refitted rooms became the most popular of all, the tendency to wanton destruction, not only in these apartments but in the public rooms of the college, was reduced to a minimum, and the cases of discipline, many of which, in former days, came from injury to property, decreased fully one-half. Despite this object lesson, the trustees apparently could not afford to continue the policy. By 1853 the situation was as bad as ever, the inspector reporting that fifteen rooms were not rented, that students would not take rooms in Wentworth Hall except the front rooms in the two upper stories, nor the north rooms in Thornton Hall, if they could possibly secure rooms in private houses. They would scarcely take the rooms on the lower floor of either hall, rent-free. Their objection to them, he said, was based on the fact that these rooms were cold, dark and dirty, not receiving the sun at any season of the year nor at any time of the day and that they were also infested with bugs. He asserted that Wentworth Hall had long remained in bad repute because, for many years, the noisy and disorderly students had tended to congregate there. Apparently the exterior of Reed Hall had been painted shortly after its erection. Thornton and Wentworth also received a coat of "wash" in 1859, and the old row assumed its present appearance. That did not remedy the internal condition, however, and in 1862 the inspector reported that twenty-eight of the fifty-nine rooms available for occupancy had been vacant during the year involving a loss in rentals to the college of \$483.

Sporadic attention was paid to the external appearance of the institution. In 1829 a "suitable fence" was erected to "secure the college yard" and in 1831 the "common" was levelled and that part not required for roads was enclosed. Probably at this time the last traces of the stumps of Eleazar Wheelock's day disappeared. At this time some attention was paid to setting out trees and gravelling walks. In 1842 the faculty voted that "the inspector be authorized to put up such a fence about the college buildings as will prevent the entrance of cows," and a further appropriation for trees in the college

yard was made in the same year. The repair of walks was a subject of faculty action in 1848, and in 1851 the inspector reported that he had set out forty-two rods of buckthorn hedge in front of the college at an expense of \$1.00 a rod. What were delicately alluded to in the faculty records as "certain structures" in the rear of Dartmouth Hall were a constant problem. Generally they were an odoriferous nuisance and, when the conditions became too extreme, they tended to disappear in flames as a result of incendiary action on the part of persons unknown. With the erection of the observatory, that part of the college grounds became almost as much frequented as the front of the buildings and the faculty considered at length what action should be taken to meet an unpleasant situation. The result of their deliberations is not revealed by the records.

The duties of inspector of buildings were always assigned to a member of the faculty, Professors Young, Sanborn and Brown, in turn, holding the office. The salary, at first \$50, afterwards increased to \$100, did not afford much of an inducement nor did the nature of the work required of the inspector serve to make the office attractive. The difficulties of the position may best be summarized by the paragraph with which Professor Sanborn, in characteristically brusque and downright fashion, concluded his report to the trustees in 1854:

Considering the fact that there is not one solitary fact connected with the office that is not annoying & disagreeable; that the Inspector's time is not only daily interrupted, during a considerable portion of all the terms, but some entire vacations are required for completing small repairs and abating nuisances; & further considering that there is no pollution, moral or physical, about the buildings which is not brought to his notice; & that there is no complaint of loss of keys, breaking of windows & doors, defiling of seats or any other disagreeable phases of college life, which he must not respond to, the Inspector confidently believes that there is not a public office in the United States, whose emoluments are so unequal to its duties. The annoyances which rise from this office are vastly greater than those which spring from the duties appropriate to his profession. A teacher can hardly perform the service expected of him and

retain his self-respect; & yet no man but a teacher can control the restless uneasy & capricious tenants of the public buildings. The variety of petty cases which grow directly out of this insignificant office are sufficient to cause even a patient man to exclaim, 'I would not live always'—in a college. All of which is respectfully submitted.

By this time we may think that the original purpose of the founder of the institution, the education of Indians, had been forgotten by his successors. That such was not the case is probably to be ascribed to the existence of two endowments which could be used for no other purpose; the fund of £2500 held by the Scotch Society, and the leased lands in Wheelock. In the years from 1800 to 1816, seventeen Indians had been admitted into Moor's School and had received the benefit of its instruction for longer or shorter periods. With the outbreak of the legal struggle of 1815, each of the contending parties endeavored to obtain for itself the drafts from the Scotch fund, and the Society, perplexed by the conflicting claims, effectually solved its difficulties by withdrawing support from both factions. No Indians were received from that time until 1822, when President Tyler, evidently under the impression that, the dispute being settled, he had a clear right to draw from the fund, received into the school a St. Francis Indian named Peter Osunkherhine. When the bills for his support reached Scotland, the Society expressed strong disapprobation of the proceeding and informed the president that it had not yet determined to resume payment, that his action was therefore unauthorized, and that, although it would pay the bill presented, no more drafts must be made upon the fund until further notice. The Indian was therefore sent home. It was not until 1826 that the Society once more resumed the grants, assigning to the support of Indians a sum of £130 a year. Osunkherhine was recalled to the school, bringing with him a companion from the same tribe. The former, who remained until 1829, subsequently pursued a career which would have delighted the heart of the elder Wheelock. Although living in utter poverty, he devoted himself throughout his life to the service of his people as minister and schoolmaster. Beginning at this time, for nearly seventy years,

from one to five Indians were maintained in Hanover as beneficiaries of the Scotch fund.

Upon his accession, however, Nathan Lord found the financial affairs of Moor's School to be far from satisfactory. The institution owed the estate of John Wheelock over \$1300, and its building had become so dilapidated as to be almost uninhabitable. In 1829 the trustees decided to suspend operation of the school for a time so that its income might be allowed to accumulate and applied to the payment of debt and to the provision of more adequate facilities. The institution remained closed until 1838. During that period, difficulties arose once again with the tenants of Wheelock and with the authorities of Vermont. A suit was even entered for the purpose of voiding the charter of the township, but in 1837 a verdict was rendered in favor of the school. On the other hand, attempts to induce the legislature to transfer the moiety of the township owned by the school to the college (a proposal made by that body itself in 1806) entirely failed, and it thus became evident that the school must be continued as before. In 1838 a building was erected (it survives, although much changed in appearance, as a portion of the present Chandler Hall) and the school was reopened. During this interregnum Indians continued to be cared for, provision for their training being made in other ways than by the school itself.

In 1839 the Scotch Society, which had remained in its usual suspicious state of mind concerning the enterprise, determined to find out for itself whether or not the money was being effectively applied. The directors sent their secretary, the Reverend John Tawse, and one other representative to America on a tour of investigation. Apparently the envoys were agreeably surprised by the work being done in Hanover; they were highly encouraged by its promise, and, for a period, the air of carping criticism which had usually characterized the correspondence of the representatives of the Society was replaced by a tone of greater cordiality. The investigating committee reported that Indians could be maintained advantageously at the school, that their education might profitably be continued through the college stage if they showed more than ordinary intelligence, that a suitable allowance should be made for their traveling expenses, and that the policy of admitting young children should

be abandoned. The principal of the fund at this time amounted to £3521 and the income was £140, a sum thought to be sufficient to support four Indians, with an assignment of \$175 to each. However, as an institution, Moor's School was finally closed in 1849. When it had been reopened in 1838, it was with the idea that it would serve as a preparatory school for boys coming from a considerable distance to Hanover and would thus be self-supporting. That was found to be a mistake. The cost of living in the college community was definitely higher than in other towns in which competing academies were located; students were attracted only from purely local sources, and the institution could not meet its expenses. In fact, in the eleven final years of its activity it had accumulated an indebtedness of over \$2500, which would obviously be increased if it should attempt to continue its course. The suspension did not affect the reception of Indian pupils, who were cared for in other ways. Its building was subsequently leased to the Chandler School and some of the Indians who were admitted after that time were enrolled in the scientific department, while others were sent for preparatory training to Kimball Union and Thetford Academies.

The total number of Indians cared for during the period 1828-1863 was twenty-six. The comments of President Lord upon rather more than one-half of them indicate that the expense of their training was largely wasted. A reversion to one of the methods of Eleazar Wheelock is found in the reception in 1832 and 1835 of two children but four years of age. These boys were placed under the care of a pious citizen of the town, Deacon Pinneo, to be reared with his own family. The experiment was not a success, both boys turning out to be lazy, unintelligent and lacking in ambition. In general, boys from the St. Francis and other Canadian tribes proved to be of doubtful promise. Only in the later part of the period, when recruits began to be obtained from the western Indians, particularly the Cherokees and Choctaws, were more favorable results secured. In most cases the boys who passed through the school did not prove intelligent or stable enough to warrant a college training. In 1835, however, the first Indian since 1781 to receive a degree from the college was graduated; Mavis Pierce, a chief of the Oneida tribe.

President Lord described him as "intelligent, pious, stable, a good scholar." In 1850 John Masta, a St. Francis Indian, was graduated from the medical school, and in 1854 Joseph Folsom, a Choctaw, received the honors of the college. The latter had been supported for ten years in school and college by the Scotch fund and President Lord spoke enthusiastically concerning his qualities. His subsequent career of leadership among his people justified the expense of his training. Dewitte Duncan, a Cherokee, was graduated from the college in 1861. He was President Lord's favorite Indian, "excelling all who have been under my care during my term of thirty-four years." In the same year Albert Barnes, also a Cherokee, received a degree from the Chandler Department. Three other Indians were enrolled in the college, but, for one reason or other, did not complete their courses.

No striking event marked the course of the medical school during this period. In the earlier portion of it, the attendance was generally about one hundred. The course of lectures, starting one week after Commencement, continued for fourteen weeks. The fee for the full course, consisting of four lectures each day, with five for a portion of the time, was \$50. In addition to the lectures, the professors in charge conducted a reading term each year, lasting from March first to Commencement, for which a fee of \$35 was charged. The attendance at this course was not large. Occasionally, small contributions from general college revenue were made to the medical department for special needs, but, in the main, the institution, from a financial point of view, was a private corporation, the professors taking for themselves the fees, and paying from the proceeds whatever the expenses might be. In 1828 but three active teachers were associated with the schools, Dr. Mussey, Dr. Oliver and Professor Hale. The receipts, divided among them, gave to each an income (for fourteen weeks of active teaching) considerably in excess of that which the academic professors received for the work of the entire year.

As time went on, the competition of other schools considerably reduced student attendance, so that after 1847 it did not average much over fifty. Professor Hale was summarily ejected from his office in 1835, Dr. Oliver resigned the next year, largely as an expres-

sion of his dissatisfaction with the trustees for having taken that action, while Dr. Mussey resigned in the same year to assume a professorship in the Cincinnati Medical School. These changes resulted in the necessity of a complete rebuilding of the teaching force. A number of medical professors held office for so brief a period that mention of them is superfluous. The more permanent members of the faculty were Dr. Edmund R. Peaslee, 1836, who lectured in anatomy and physiology from 1842 to 1869; Dr. Oliver Payson Hubbard, Professor of Chemistry from 1836 to 1883, and then emeritus until his death in 1900; Dr. Edward Elisha Phelps, who held various chairs from 1841 to 1875, but who, for the greater part of that time, was Professor of the Practice of Medicine; Dr. Albert Smith, 1825, Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics from 1849 to 1879, and Dr. Dixi Crosby, D.M.C. 1824, Professor of Surgery from 1838 to 1869. Mention should also be made of one who, although for the greater part of his life a busy teacher of anatomy at Harvard, for the most part owes his fame to activity in different lines, namely Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. He was Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at Dartmouth from 1838 to 1841.

The presence of the medical school in Hanover gave to the community the position which it has since retained as the center of the region for medical consultation and for surgery. Dr. Peaslee was prominent in such work. In 1854 he published a volume on *Human Histology*, the first of its kind to be printed in English. His specialty, however, was ovariectomy, and his work on *Ovarian Tumors*, published in 1872, was one of the recognized authorities of the period. Dr. Dixi Crosby was the most prominent member of the Crosby family which came very near dominating Hanover in his day. His skill and daring as a surgeon were early established. When a medical apprentice of his father, he performed his first amputation upon a patient whom the older man, believing the case to be hopeless, had intrusted to his son to watch until the expected end should come. The patient recovered. During the same period the father and son, upon reaching a distant emergency case without their instruments, found that an immediate amputation was requisite. Whereupon the young Dixi secured the family carving knife, sharpened it upon a grindstone, whetted it on a razor hone,

and with this and a hand saw the pair proceeded to the task. Again the patient recovered. In later years he devised a new and ingenious method of reducing metacarpo-phalangeal dislocation. He is said by his biographer to have been the first to remove the arm, scapula and three-fourths of the clavicle at a single operation, and the first to open an abscess of the hip joint. In addition, he was in wide demand as a consultant upon medical and obstetrical cases. His medical and surgical skill was not his only asset. Of him it was said:

In his personal appearance he was imposing and striking, by his manly form and open and cheerful face, his bright and intelligent countenance, he would always impress a stranger with the idea that he was a man of intellect and power, and then, by his urbanity and agreeable manners, and by his appropriate speech, he secured the confidence and favorable opinion of those with whom he came in contact.

The most troublesome problem which confronted President Lord during the later years of his administration was that resulting from the foundation of a scientific school. In 1851 Abiel Chandler, of Walpole, New Hampshire, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1806, first a teacher and afterwards a successful business man in Boston, bequeathed to the college the sum of \$50,000 for the establishment and support of a permanent scientific department or school. One clause of the will directed that instruction should be given:

In the practical or useful arts of life composed chiefly in the branches of mechanics and civil engineering, the invention and manufacture of machinery, carpentry, masonry, architecture and drawing, the investigation of the properties and uses of the materials employed in the arts, the modern languages and English literature, together with bookkeeping and such other branches of knowledge as may best qualify young persons for the duties and employments of active life: but first of all and above all I would enjoin in connection with the above branches the careful inculcation of the principles of pure morality, piety and religion, without introducing topics of controversial theology, that the benefits of said department

or school may be equally enjoyed by all religious denominations without distinction. No other or higher preparatory studies are to be required in order to enter said department or school than are pursued in the common schools of New England.

Mr. Chandler also stipulated that, while the management of the fund and of the school itself was to be vested in the trustees and faculty of the college, a board of visitors should be established, to which was intrusted the responsibility of watching carefully lest the provisions of the gift should be violated, and which was given a veto power over the actions of the college authorities, so far as those actions concerned the school. Mr. Chandler's executors, John J. Dixwell and Francis B. Hayes, were selected by him as the first board of visitors, with authority to appoint their successors.

At the annual meeting of the trustees in 1851, President Lord reported this proposal with the statement that there were "no guides by which the success of such an undertaking could be predicted," and without recommendation concerning the acceptance of the gift. The board, despite the difficulties which were sure to arise, could not bring itself to reject so substantial a donation and voted to accept the bequest, to conform to the conditions stated in the will, and to establish a department called "The Chandler School of Science and the Arts." A committee was appointed to draw up a detailed plan of organization and instruction, which was to be presented at the next annual meeting.

Accordingly, at the Commencement meeting of 1852 the schedule worked out in the interval was submitted and adopted. A three-year course was provided, instruction being given in English, the natural sciences, mathematics, civil engineering, and other subjects as provided in the will. Teaching in the school was to be done by the existing faculty of the college, without, at first, any addition to their number. No possibility existed that the range of subjects specified by Mr. Chandler could properly be handled by the teachers on the ground, and, as a matter of fact, no attempt was ever made to cover it in full, but the curriculum was extended as far in the direction indicated as facilities would permit. The degree of Bachelor of Science was to be awarded for successful completion of the three-

year course. It was decided that the School should be opened at the beginning of the fall term of that year, in quarters obtained by lease of the vacant building formerly occupied by Moor's School.

With the opening of the institution, seventeen students presented themselves for admission, a number which in subsequent years gradually increased to between forty and fifty, at which point it remained until the close of the Lord administration. At first, it was thought that some of the classes might be held in common with those of the academic department, but the Chandler students objected to this plan:

As the unity of classes among themselves and the want of sympathy for all others makes our position extremely unpleasant, that the inconvenience we cause them tends to create prejudice and renders difficulty very probable; and that there is sacrifice of feeling attending it which cannot but lessen our progress in study.

All attempts at combination had to be abandoned. As has been indicated, at first no special teachers were employed for the School (except an instructor in modern languages) and the work was assigned to such members of the college faculty as were competent to do it, at a compensation considerably less than that received by them for corresponding work in the academic department. It soon became evident that an immediate directing head was required, and in 1856 Professor John S. Woodman, formerly Professor of Mathematics in the college, was made Professor of Civil Engineering and his entire time was henceforth given to the management of the School. In 1857 the course for the bachelor's degree was increased in length to four years and a new curriculum was instituted. It provided in the first three years for instruction in mathematics, natural science, modern languages, and graphics, with a small amount of English, history, moral science, political economy and the like. In the fourth year some of these general subjects were continued by all students, but a portion of the time was devoted to a selection from civil engineering, commercial subjects, or English literature and intellectual philosophy; the first introduction of the elective principle into the curriculum of the college.

Two difficulties arose as soon as the Chandler School was organized, and they persisted as long as the institution endured. They were subjects of more or less acute controversy during the entire period. The first resulted from the provision of the Chandler will permitting no entrance requirements in excess of the "subjects taught in the common schools of New England." The outcome was that students entering the school were considered to be and usually were on a lower level of intellectual attainment than those who entered the academic department. They could hardly hope to make up the deficiency in the four years of the undergraduate course, and the degree was awarded to them on a far less exacting basis than that required in the college itself. As a result, members of the faculty, particularly those not engaged in the instruction of Chandler students, looked upon the plan as one which lowered the scholastic standards of the institution and which, in time, would tend to bring it into disrepute. Moreover, the Chandler will implied, and the visitors insisted, that the School should be under the direct management of the Dartmouth faculty as a whole. The protesting members of that body were thus placed in the position of being made responsible for the scholastic standards of a group over whose admission they had no authority and of recommending students for whatever prestige was attached to a Dartmouth degree whom they did not think were entitled to that distinction. These faculty members were not alone in their objection. The members of the examining committee of 1853 reported that they "were confident it [the School] will not redound as it ought to the credit of the College or the good of the community" unless such conditions of entrance should be imposed as were plainly contradictory to the provisions of the will. It is interesting to know that one of the members of this committee was Samuel Colcord Bartlett, then a clergyman at Manchester, New Hampshire, who, many years later, was to encounter difficulties of a most serious nature with respect to the Chandler School. The result of this feeling was to lead the Chandler faculty gradually to increase the entrance requirements so that they tended to stretch the terms of the gift beyond reasonable limits, without, after all, really relieving the difficulty in any essential respect.

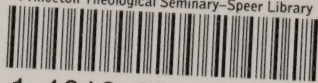
The second objection to the School, although less important in principle, was even more irritating in its results. It was the inequality in faculty salaries resulting from the existence of two branches of the institution. A college faculty will generally endure with philosophic resignation an inadequate salary scale, so long as everyone is on the same plane; but the moment a group succeeds in obtaining an increased compensation which the remainder cannot secure, recriminations, acute dissension, and a state of seething indignation are sure to result. That is precisely what happened in this case. Those members of the faculty whose fields of knowledge happened to enable them to be of service to the new institution received for that service extra compensation which was not available to their colleagues. It is true that this added compensation was small, but if one has but little, a little more added to it makes for increased comfort quite out of proportion to the apparent value of the increment. Moreover, it so happened that the individuals who were placed at a disadvantage as a result of this arrangement were the older and more influential members of the teaching group. To make it worse, they were teachers of the "literary subjects"—Greek, Latin and the like—who had always considered themselves to be more important to the institution than their scientific colleagues could possibly be. Professor Sanborn, of the Latin department, in a letter to the trustees in 1854 set forth the difficulty in his habitual downright fashion. He complained that the establishment of the Chandler School had given additional weight and influence to the physical departments, that the youngest officers were receiving salaries nearly one quarter larger than those of the older professors in the literary departments, and that, at the same time, the social obligations of these older men were far greater than those of their scientific colleagues. He had no patience with the theory, which had been set forth by some of the trustees and especially by the Chandler visitors, that "it is just that the laborer should be paid for his services and if, by the accident of professional qualifications, one is competent to perform those duties which another cannot, the Trustees should not consider it a sufficient reason to confer any portion of the reward of ability and labor upon the complainer." In his mind, the college ought to be considered in the light of a

joint-stock company and its labors and emoluments should be distributed as evenly as possible. In any case, he was sure that his work for the academic department alone was equal, both in quantity and quality, to the labors of any of his colleagues for both School and college, and he could see no reason why his reward should be less than theirs. He was supported by others, although no one else was so direct as he. The faculty repeatedly expressed its opinion that the Chandler School should be made entirely independent of the college, that it should have its own faculty and depend solely upon its own funds. This was equivalent to saying that the School should be abandoned, for its income was not sufficient to keep it alive unless it could depend upon securing the services of college teachers at a cheap rate. President Lord was not unsympathetic with the complaints of the protesting members of the faculty. He worked out a scheme whereby the administration of School and college should be so managed, and their incomes so combined, that the division of labor would be fair and that equal salaries would be secured to all teachers in the institution. If this should be done, he thought that the compensation of each professor might be increased from \$1100 to \$1300. What the objections to this plan may have been, we do not know, but evidently it did not receive the approval of the trustees. Evidently, also, some friction was caused by their rejection of it, for the resignation of Judge Parker was attributed to his resentment at the defeat of the measure. As time went on and as the instructing staff became habituated to the situation, less open complaint was to be observed, but the salary scale was, nevertheless, a point of friction as long as the Chandler School endured.

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